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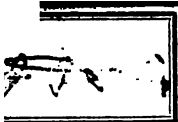
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THE NORTH
AND
THE SOUTH



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J P Blanchard

2

The North and the South:

A STATISTICAL VIEW

OF THE CONDITION OF

THE FREE AND SLAVE STATES.

BY

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AND

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COMPILED FROM OFFICIAL DOCUMENTS.

21

BOSTON:

PUBLISHED BY JOHN P. JEWETT AND COMPANY.

CLEVELAND, OHIO: H. P. B. JEWETT.

NEW YORK: SHELDON, BLAKEMAN, AND COMPANY.

1856.

~~887530~~

U.S. 5271.6

1859, April. 5.

Gift of

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Entered according to Act of Congress, in the year 1856, by

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In the Clerk's Office of the District Court of the District of Massachusetts.

LITHOTYPED BY THE AMERICAN STEREOTYPE COMPANY,
28 PHENIX BUILDING, BOSTON.

PRINTED BY D. S. FORD AND CO.

PREFACE.

It is the object of this work to compare the condition of the slaveholding and non-slaveholding States—the North and the South—as to territory, population, industry and wealth, education and intelligence, religion and moral advancement, and general progress. The authorities used are the official documents of the General Government and of the individual States. The calculations are, for the most part, for the year 1850, and based on the census returns for that year, as compiled by J. D. B. De Bow, and published in his *Compendium of the Seventh Census*.

This work, prepared with much labor, is the only one of the kind within our knowledge. We think there is public necessity for it, and submit it without further remark.

CONCORD, MASS., September, 1856.

(III)



INTRODUCTORY.

THE slaveholding States, fifteen in number, including the semi-slave States of Delaware and Maryland, have an area of eight hundred and fifty-one thousand, four hundred and forty-eight square miles. In latitude, they extend from 25° to 40° north, and, in longitude, from 75° to 107° west. This vast empire of nearly a thousand miles square has a sea and gulf coast of seven thousand miles in extent, and is drained by more than fifty navigable rivers. Through its centre flows the longest river of the globe, with its thousands of miles of navigable waters.

The free States, sixteen in number, have an area of six hundred and twelve thousand five hundred and ninety-seven square miles. Exclusive of California, they extend, in latitude, from 37° to 47° north, and, in longitude, from 67° to 97° west. With California, they constitute a territory of nearly eight hundred miles square, with two thousand miles of Atlantic seacoast. A dozen navigable rivers flow from this territory to the Atlantic, two of them finding a passage to the sea through the far-extending bays of the slave States. By the great lakes and their outlets, its northern products find their natural channel to the ocean — ice-bound for several months in the year — through the territory of a foreign power; while, borne on the Mississippi for more than a thousand miles through the domain of slavery, its western products seek a passage to the ocean by the Gulf of Mexico. While the rivers of the slave States are never closed to navigation by the rigors of climate, those of the free States are closed by ice during the winter months of each year.

In climate, the slave States excel, and in soil equal, the free. Certain productions, moreover, of great importance are mostly confined, by the laws of temperature, to the slave States. Among these are cotton, cane-sugar, rice, and tobacco.

Thus, for agriculture, the slave States have a fertile soil, a climate

adapted to the productions of tropical and temperate latitudes; for manufactures, are exhaustless motive power distributed throughout its whole extent, with the raw materials of cotton, wool, iron, lumber, etc., abundant and readily accessible, while coal, salt, and other precious metals are found in several of these States; for internal commerce, numerous rivers drain the whole territory; for external commerce, thousands of miles of sea and gulf coast with excellent harbors.

The rigorous climate of all, and the sterile soil of some of the free States, render them less fitted for agriculture than the slave States, while the transportation of the raw material affects the success of manufacturers. For the purposes of commerce, the North has a moderate extent of seacoast and several good harbors, whose remoteness, however, from the producing and consuming regions affect disadvantageously the interests of trade. The great lakes, when not closed by ice, furnish good facilities for internal commerce.

In the origin of their population and the date of their settlement, the North and the South are pretty nearly alike.

Geographically, it will be seen that the old and new free States are nearly separated by the projection of Canada and northern Virginia, while the Pacific State of California is separated from the other free States by two thousand miles of unsettled country. The slave States, old and new, on the other hand, lie in a compact body. Resulting from these different geographical positions were the facts that the emigration from the older free States must seek, by extended and circuitous routes, a passage to the new; while the emigration from the slave States had only to cross a border line, of a thousand miles in extent, to find itself at once on its new territory.

THE NORTH AND THE SOUTH.

CHAPTER I.

TERRITORY.

As the basis for future comparisons, in this work, the following table is introduced, showing the area of the several States, together with that of the two great sections, the North and the South:

TABLE I.

Showing the Area of the Slave and the Free States.

SLAVE STATES.	Area in Sq. Miles.	FREE STATES.	Area in Sq. Miles.
Alabama.....	50,722	California.....	155,980
Arkansas.....	52,198	Connecticut.....	4,674
Delaware.....	2,120	Illinois.....	55,405
Florida.....	59,268	Indiana.....	33,809
Georgia.....	58,000	Iowa.....	50,914
Kentucky.....	37,680	Maine.....	31,766
Louisiana.....	41,255	Massachusetts.....	7,800
Maryland.....	11,124	Michigan.....	56,243
Mississippi.....	47,156	New Hampshire.....	9,280
Missouri.....	67,380	New York.....	47,000
North Carolina.....	50,704	New Jersey.....	8,320
South Carolina.....	29,385	Ohio.....	39,964
Tennessee.....	45,600	Pennsylvania.....	46,000
Texas.....	237,504	Rhode Island.....	1,306
Virginia.....	61,352	Vermont.....	10,212
.....	.....	Wisconsin.....	53,924
Total.....	851,448	Total.....	612,597

It will be seen by the above table that the area of the fifteen slaveholding States is 851,448 square miles; and that of the sixteen non-slaveholding States 612,597 square miles; a difference of more than 238,000 square miles in favor of the Slave States.* Let it be remembered, therefore, that the area of the Free States is considerably less than three-fourths that of the Slave States.

By the purchase of Louisiana, in 1803, and of Florida, in 1819, were added to the national domain 966,479 square miles; an area greater than the *entire area* of the United States at the time of gaining their independence.† By the annexation of Texas, in 1846, were added 318,000 miles more, and by a treaty with Mexico at the close of the war, 522,955 square miles; making an aggregate of 1,807,434 square miles. This, of course, is exclusive of the 308,052 square miles to which our title was "confirmed" by treaty with Great Britain in 1846.

The expense of these purchases and conquests cannot be exactly determined. The territory of Louisiana, purchased of France, cost \$15,000,000; that of Florida, purchased of Spain, \$5,000,000; amount paid Texas, about \$27,000,000; expenses of Mexican war, \$217,175,575; paid for New Mexico, by treaty, \$15,000,000. Making an aggregate of more than \$270,000,000, which, together with interest on the same, the expense of the Florida war, about \$100,000,000, and nearly the same amount paid for the extinguishment of Indian titles, etc., etc., make a sum, little if any short of \$1,000,000,000.

The manner in which this territory has been apportioned to the two sections is given by Mr. Clay, in his speech in the Senate in 1850. (See *Appendix to Congress. Globe*, vol. 22, part 1, page 126.)

* The estimates here made are according to the *Compendium of the United States Census*. In the Quarto Edition the area of Texas is given as 325,520 square miles; which would make the area of the Slave States nearly 100,000 square miles more than here given.

† See *Compendium of the United States Census*, p. 32.

He says: "What have been the territorial acquisitions made by this country, and to what interests have they conduced? Florida, where slavery exists, has been introduced. All the most valuable parts of Louisiana have also added to the extent and consideration of the slaveholding portion of the Union." "All Louisiana, with the exception of what lies north of 36° 30';" "all Texas, all the territories which have been acquired by the Government of the United States during sixty years of the operation of that Government, have been slave territories — theatres of slavery — with the exception I have mentioned lying north of the line of 36° 30'."

California has since been admitted a Free State. The other States, formed from territory thus obtained, and admitted into the Union, are Louisiana, Missouri, Arkansas, Florida, and Texas — five Slave States.

The area of California is 155,980 square miles; that of the five Slave States named, 457,605; being 302,625 square miles more, and very nearly in the ratio of three to one. Indeed, the area of these five purchased Slave States is greater than that of all the Free States, if we except California. It will be seen by tables VII and VIII, that the number of Representatives in Congress from California is two, which, together with two Senators, entitle that State to four electoral votes. The number of Representatives from the five Slave States is sixteen, which, together with ten Senators, make twenty-six electoral votes, being in the ratio of six and one-third to one, and a majority of twenty-two.

There is (of territory inhabited and uninhabited) north of the old Missouri Compromise line an area of 1,970,077 square miles, and 966,089 south of it.

It will be noticed, in passing, that the area of Virginia is not quite four thousand miles less than that of all New England, and is larger than that entire section if we except Connecticut. It is also larger than the four States of New York, Massachusetts, Connecticut, and Rhode Island. Maryland contains over

three thousand square miles more than Massachusetts, and is considerably larger than either New Hampshire or Vermont; Pennsylvania and New York are each smaller than either North Carolina, Mississippi, Georgia, Arkansas, or Alabama; while Ohio and Indiana are still smaller. Ohio has but two thousand two hundred and eighty-four square miles more than Kentucky, to which it is very similar in surface, soil, and productions. South Carolina is almost four times as large as Massachusetts, and three-fourths as large as Ohio.

CHAPTER II.

POPULATION.

The following tables give the aggregate population of the several states in 1790, 1820, and 1850. (For a table showing the population at each decennial census, see *Appendix*.) In connection with this are also here given, the area, the number of inhabitants to a square mile in 1850, and the population at the present time, the last being taken from a late communication to Congress by the Secretary of the Treasury:

TABLE II.

Statement of the Area, and Aggregate Population in 1790, 1820, 1850, and 1856, with the Number of Inhabitants to a Square mile, in 1850, of the several Slave States.

SLAVE STATES.	Area in Sq. Miles.	Population in 1790.	Population in 1820.	Population in 1850.	Density in 1850.	Population in 1856
Alabama	50,722		127,901	771,623	15.21	835,192
Arkansas	52,198		14,273	209,897	4.02	253,117
Delaware	2,120	59,096	72,749	91,532	43.18	97,295
Florida	59,268			87,445	1.48	110,725
Georgia	58,000	82,548	340,987	906,185	15.62	935,090
Kentucky	37,680	73,077	564,317	982,405	26.07	1,086,587
Louisiana	41,255	319,728	153,407	517,762	12.55	600,387
Maryland	11,124		407,350	583,034	52.41	639,580
Mississippi	47,156		75,448	606,326	12.86	671,649
Missouri	67,380		66,586	682,044	10.12	831,215
North Carolina	50,704	393,751	638,829	869,039	17.14	921,852
South Carolina	29,385	249,073	502,741	668,507	22.75	705,661
Tennessee	45,600	35,791	422,813	1,002,717	21.99	1,092,470
Texas	237,504			212,592	0.89	500,000
Virginia	61,352	748,308	1,065,379	1,421,661	23.17	1,512,593
Total	851,448	1,961,372	4,452,780	9,612,769	11.28	10,793,413

TABLE III.

Statement of the Area, and Aggregate Population in 1790, 1820, 1850, and 1856, with the Number of Inhabitants to a Square Mile, in 1850, of the several Free States.

FREE STATES.	Area in Sq. Miles.	Population in 1790.	Population in 1820.	Population in 1850.	Density in 1850.	Population in 1856.
California	155,980			92,597	.59	335,000
Connecticut...	4,674	238,141	275,202	370,792	79.33	401,292
Illinois	55,405		55,211	851,470	15.37	1,242,917
Indiana	33,809		147,178	988,416	29.24	1,149,606
Iowa	50,914			192,214	3.78	325,014
Maine	31,766	96,540	298,335	583,169	18.36	623,862
Massachusetts.	7,800	378,717	523,287	994,514	127.50	1,133,123
Michigan	56,243		8,896	397,654	7.07	509,374
New Hampshire	9,280	141,899	244,161	317,976	34.26	324,701
New York	47,000	340,120	1,372,812	3,097,394	65.90	3,470,059
New Jersey ...	8,320	184,139	277,575	489,555	58.84	569,499
Ohio	39,964		581,434	1,980,329	49.55	2,215,750
Pennsylvania .	46,000	434,378	1,049,458	2,311,786	50.26	2,542,960
Rhode Island .	1,306	69,110	83,059	147,545	112.97	166,927
Vermont	10,212	85,416	235,764	314,120	30.76	325,206
Wisconsin	53,924			305,391	5.66	552,109
Total	612,597	1,968,455	5,152,372	13,434,922	21.93	15,887,399

From these tables it will be seen that, in 1790, the population in the present non-slaveholding States was 1,968,455; and in the present slaveholding States, 1,961,372; showing a difference of 7,083 in favor of the non-slaveholding States. This difference, at first so slight, only 7,000, we find constantly increasing, until in 1820 (thirty years from that time) it becomes 699,592; the population of the slaveholding States being at that time 4,452,780, and that of the non-slaveholding States 5,152,372. In thirty years more (1850), the population of the fifteen Slave States is 9,612,769, and of the sixteen Free States 13,434,922; a difference of 3,822,153 in favor of the Free States. Thus, from having a majority of less than four-tenths of one per cent in 1790, the Free States had in

1850 a majority of more than thirty-nine per cent. And this, notwithstanding 87,000 inhabitants were added to the Slave States by the annexation of Louisiana and Florida, and a large population by the annexation of Texas.

The average number of inhabitants to a square mile, in the Slave States, is 11.28, and in the Free States 21.93; almost exactly two to one.

On examining this table a little in detail, we notice the following, among many other interesting facts:

The area of Virginia is 61,352 miles; that of New York is 47,000, or over 14,000 square miles less than that of Virginia. The population of Virginia, in 1790, was 748,308, and in 1850 it was 1,421,661. It had not doubled in sixty years. The population of New York in 1790 was 340,120, in 1850 it was 3,097,394; thus, New York had multiplied her population more than nine times in the same period. Kentucky has an area of 37,680 square miles, and Ohio 39,964, a little over two thousand miles greater. Kentucky had in 1850 a population of 982,405, and Ohio 1,980,329, or nearly a million more than Kentucky. Kentucky was admitted into the Union in 1792, and Ohio in 1802. The area of Mississippi is 47,156 square miles, that of Pennsylvania, 46,000. The population of Mississippi was, in 1850 (in round numbers), 606,000, that of Pennsylvania, 2,300,000. The number of inhabitants to a square mile in North Carolina was, in 1850, a little over seventeen, and in New Hampshire thirty-four; in Tennessee twenty-one, and in Ohio forty-nine; in South Carolina twenty-two, and in Massachusetts one hundred and twenty-seven.

These comparisons are based upon the population as it was in 1850. The tables likewise show the present population, as given in a recent communication to Congress, by the Secretary of the Treasury. By this it will be seen that the ratio of increase still continues; there being now a majority of 5,093,986 or over forty-seven per cent, in favor of the Free States

According to the same ratio, in less than three years more than two-thirds of the entire population of the Union will be found in the Free States.

The entire white population of the two sections, at each decennial census, from 1790 to 1850, is as follows (for a statement of white population at each census, see *Appendix*):

Slaveholding States.		Non-slaveholding States.	
In 1790	1,271,488	In 1790	1,900,976
1800	1,692,914	1800	2,601,509
1810	2,192,706	1810	3,653,219
1820	2,808,946	1820	5,030,377
1830	3,633,195	1830	6,871,302
1840	4,601,873	1840	9,557,065
1850	6,184,477	1850	13,238,670

The difference of increase here may perhaps seem more remarkable than in the aggregate population. The white population of the present Slave States was, in 1790, 1,271,448, and of the present non-slaveholding States, at the same time, 1,900,976, a difference of 629,488; not quite fifty per cent. in favor of the non-slaveholding states. In 1850 that difference had become 7,054,193, or over one hundred and fourteen per cent. In other words, the white population in the Free States had become 869,716 *more than double* that in the Slave States. The population of the latter being 6,184,477, and that of the former 13,238,670.

How far this difference, both of population and its increase, in the two sections, is due to foreign immigration, may be seen from the following statement (*Census Compendium*, p. 45): "There are now 726,450 persons living in slaveholding States, who are natives of non-slaveholding States, and 232,112 persons living in non-slaveholding States, who are natives of slaveholding States. There are 1,866,397 persons of foreign birth in

the non-slaveholding States, and 378,205 in the slaveholding." There are then 494,338 more natives of non-slaveholding States in slaveholding States, than there are of slaveholding in the non-slaveholding States; while there are 1,488,192 more persons of foreign birth in the non-slaveholding than in the slaveholding States; which gives less than a million more persons residing in non-slaveholding States, who were not born there, than in the slaveholding States, nearly all of whom are white inhabitants. The difference is nearly 4,000,000 in the aggregate, and more than 7,000,000 in the white population, and is not therefore due to *this* cause.

The following tables show the white population of the several States in 1790, 1820, and 1850:

TABLE IV.

White Population of the Slave States in 1790, 1820, and 1850.

SLAVE STATES.	1790.	1820.	1850.
Alabama		85,451	426,514
Arkansas		12,579	162,189
Delaware	46,310	55,282	71,169
Florida			47,203
Georgia	52,886	189,566	521,572
Kentucky	61,133	434,644	761,413
Louisiana		73,383	255,491
Maryland	208,649	260,223	417,943
Mississippi		42,176	295,718
Missouri		55,988	592,004
North Carolina	288,204	419,200	553,028
South Carolina	140,178	237,440	274,563
Tennessee	32,013	339,927	756,836
Texas			154,034
Virginia	442,115	603,087	894,800
Total	1,271,488	2,808,946	6,184,477

TABLE V

White Population of the Free States in 1790, 1820, and 1850.

FREE STATES.	1790	1820	1850
California			91,635
Connecticut	232,581	267,161	363,099
Illinois		53,788	846,084
Indiana		145,758	977,154
Iowa			191,881
Maine	96,002	297,340	581,813
Massachusetts	373,254	516,419	985,450
Michigan		8,591	395,071
New Hampshire	141,111	243,236	317,456
New Jersey	169,954	257,409	465,509
New York	314,142	1,332,744	3,048,325
Ohio		576,572	1,955,050
Pennsylvania	424,099	1,017,094	2,258,160
Rhode Island	64,689	79,413	143,875
Vermont	85,144	234,846	313,402
Wisconsin			304,756
Total	1,900,976	5,030,377	13,238,670

The whole number of slaveholders in the Slave States, in 1850, was 346,048; and of this number 173,204 hold less than five slaves each, leaving 172,844 who are holders of more than four slaves; and, if we deduct the numbers holding less than ten slaves each, there will remain 92,215. The whole number of slaveholders, then, is less than 350,000, including females and minors. The number of voters in this class is therefore much smaller. But, counting them all as voters, they are less than the number of freemen who voted at the last Presidential election in New England, even without including Vermont. They are less than the number who voted in either Pennsylvania or Ohio, and less than two-thirds the number who voted in New York.

The annexed table shows the free colored population of the United States. It will be seen that the number of free colored inhabitants in the Free States is 196,016, and in the Slave States

228,128, mingled with a white population of less than half that of the Free States. This, of course, does not include the District of Columbia, in which there are over 10,000 free colored persons; while the number in the Free States includes those in New Jersey, in which there are over 23,000, of whom 20,000 were born in the State. Indeed, if we examine the table giving the nativities of the free colored persons, we shall see that the number who still reside in the States where they were born is 354,470, out of the whole number, 454,495, which is over eighty-one per cent.

On page 81 of the *Census Compendium*, in connection with a table showing the occupation of the free colored males over fifteen years of age, it is stated that in New York city there is one in fifty-five engaged in pursuits requiring education; while in New Orleans one in eleven is engaged in similar pursuits. In Connecticut, one in a hundred is thus employed, and in Louisiana one in twelve.

These are the only cities and States compared in this way in the Census. It may be a fact a little surprising to some, that, while the ratio of the free colored inhabitants engaged in pursuits requiring education in Louisiana is one-twelfth of the whole, the ratio of the entire white male population engaged in the pursuits in the same State is less than one-eighteenth of the whole.

The increase in the present slaveholding States, from 1840 to 1850, is 10.49 per cent., and in the non-slaveholding States 14.98 per cent.; being four and a half per cent. greater in the Free than in the Slave States. The proportion of free colored persons to the total population, in some of the States, is quite considerable; being greatest in Maryland and Delaware,—in the former twelve, and in the latter nineteen per cent.

Had we not the example of De Bow's *Compendium*, we might be uncertain how to regard the slaves, whether as men,

TABLE VI.

Free Colored Population of the United States in the years 1790, 1820, 1850

SLAVE STATES.	1790	1820	1850	FREE STATES.	1790	1820	1850
Alabama		571	2,265	California			962
Arkansas		59	608	Connecticut....	2,801	7,844	7,693
Delaware	3,899	12,958	18,073	Illinois		457	5,436
Florida			932	Indiana		1,230	11,262
Georgia	398		2,931	Iowa			333
Kentucky	114	2,759	10,011	Maine	538	929	1,356
Louisiana		10,476	17,462	Massachusetts..	5,463	6,740	9,064
Maryland	8,043	39,730	74,723	Michigan		174	2,583
Mississippi		458	930	New Hampshire		630	520
Missouri		347	2,618	New Jersey	2,762	12,460	23,810
North Carolina.	4,975	14,612	27,463	New York	4,654	29,279	49,069
South Carolina.	1,801	6,826	8,960	Ohio		4,723	25,279
Tennessee	361	2,727	6,422	Pennsylvania ..	6,537	30,202	53,626
Texas			397	Rhode Island...	3,469	3,554	3,670
Virginia	12,766	36,889	54,333	Vermont	255	903	718
.....				Wisconsin			635
Total	32,357	128,412	228,128	Total	27,109	99,281	196,016

to be enumerated as so many inhabitants, or as so much property, estimated at so much per head; or, taking a middle course, to consider them three-fifths intelligent man, and two-fifths unintelligent property; thus realizing what was *anciently* but a fabulous monster, the *Centaur*, having the head of a man and the body of a *horse*. These three plans are all adopted in the *Census Compendium*. The number of slaves in the present slaveholding States was as follows:

In 1790	.	.	.	.	.	657,527
" 1800	.	.	.	.	.	853,851
" 1810	.	.	.	.	.	1,158,459
" 1820	.	.	.	.	.	1,512,553
" 1830	.	.	.	.	.	2,001,610
" 1840	.	.	.	.	.	2,481,632
" 1850	.	.	.	.	.	3,200,304

From this it will be seen that there has been a constant increase, until there were, in 1850, over three millions; being almost one-third of the entire population of the Slave States,—more than double the population of either Norway or Den-

mark, — greater than that of Netherlands, Switzerland, Scotland, or Sweden, — and not quite three hundred thousand less than that of Portugal.

Some very interesting facts may be gathered from the census tables with regard to this class. If we examine, for instance, the table with regard to the "Increase and Decrease per cent. of the Slave Population of the several States at each census" (see *Appendix*), we shall see, what is indeed remarked in the *Census Compendium*, that "the increase of slaves in the southern Atlantic States has only averaged about two per cent per annum in fifty years, though averaging eighteen per cent per annum in the Gulf States, etc., for the last twenty years." Thus, in South Carolina this increase diminished from thirty-six per cent in 1790 to seventeen per cent in 1850; and, indeed, in 1840 it was but three per cent. In North Carolina it is about the same. In Maryland, from an increase it has become a decrease, and that, too, at a rapid rate. In Virginia the ratio of increase has diminished from seventeen to five per cent, and generally the ratio of increase has been of late less than that of the white population. In the Gulf States, on the other hand, the increase has in many instances been immense, and much *more rapid* than that of the white population. The cause of this is given by those who have the best opportunity to know the facts, as follows:

Hon. Henry Clay of Kentucky, in a speech, in 1829, before the Colonization Society, says: "It is believed that nowhere in the farming portion of the United States would slave labor be generally employed, if the proprietors were not tempted to raise slaves by the high price of the southern markets, which keeps it up in his own."

Professor Dew, once President of William and Mary College in Virginia, in his review of the debates in the Virginia Legislature in 1831-2, says: "From all the information we can obtain, we have no hesitation in saying that upwards of six

thousand [slaves] are yearly exported [from Virginia] to other States." Again: "A full equivalent being thus left in the place of the slave, this emigration becomes an advantage to the State, and does not check the black population as much as, at first view, we might imagine; because it furnishes every inducement to the master to attend to the negroes, to encourage breeding, and to cause the greatest number possible to be raised. * * Virginia is, in fact, a negro-raising State for other States."

The extent of this domestic slave trade is not given in De Bow's census tables, but we may, by an easy computation from the tables, arrive at something near the truth, so far as they are reliable in such matters.

On page 87 of the *Compendium*, we find the decennial increase of Slaves in the United States to be as follows: between 1790 and 1800, 27.9; between 1800 and 1810, 33.4; between 1810 and 1820, 29.1; between 1820 and 1830, 30.6; between 1830 and 1840, 23.8. The average of these ratios is 28.96. In 1840, the slave-exporting States, Delaware, Maryland, Virginia, North and South Carolina, Kentucky, and Tennessee, contained 1,479,601 slaves. Had they increased in the ratio of 28.96 per cent., the number in 1850 would have been 1,908,093. The actual number given is 1,689,158, being a difference of 218,935, or 21,893 for each year, to be accounted for. Applying the same rule to the slave-importing states, we have the following result: Georgia, Florida, Alabama, Louisiana, Mississippi, Arkansas, and Missouri contained in 1840 1,002,031 slaves. Increasing in the ratio of 28.96 per cent, their number in 1850 would have been 1,292,219. The number given in the census is 1,453,035; a difference *the other way* of 160,816, or 16,081 per year, which they had received by importation.

The difference of nearly 6,000 between the import and export may be accounted for by the following: A writer in

the *New Orleans Argus*, in 1830, says: "The loss by death in bringing slaves from a northern climate, which our planters are under the necessity of doing, is not less than twenty-five per cent." And the planters in those States, when advertising for sale a plantation and a lot of negroes, always mention distinctly the fact that they are "acclimated" (if that be the case), as enhancing their value.

The number which the figures would seem to indicate as sold from the North to the South is no doubt very low; it certainly is so, if we take the estimate of Southern men. The *Virginia Times*, in 1836, estimates the number of slaves exported for sale during a single year at forty thousand.

In 1837, a committee was appointed, by the citizens of Mobile, to investigate the causes of the existing pecuniary pressure. In their report they say: "So large has been the return of slave labor, that purchases by Alabama of that species of property from other States, since 1833, have amounted to ten millions of dollars annually."

Rev. Dr. Graham, of Fayetteville, North Carolina, said in 1837: "There were nearly seven thousand slaves offered in New Orleans market last winter. From Virginia alone, six thousand were annually sent to the South; and from Virginia and North Carolina there had gone to the South, in the last twenty years, three hundred thousand slaves."

Mr. Gholson, of Virginia, in a speech in the Legislature of that State, January 18, 1831, says: "It has always (perhaps erroneously) been considered, by steady and old-fashioned people, that the owner of land had a reasonable right to its annual profits; the owner of orchards to their annual fruits; the owners of brood mares to their product; and the owners of female slaves to their increase. We have not the fine-spun intelligence nor legal acumen to discover the technical distinctions drawn by some gentlemen. The legal maxim of *partus sequitur ventrem* is coeval with the existence of the right of property itself, and is founded in wisdom and

justice. It is on the justice and inviolability of this maxim that the master forgoes the service of the female slave, has her nursed and attended during the period of her gestation, and raises the helpless infant offspring. The value of the property justifies the expense, and I do not hesitate to say that in its increase consists much of our wealth."

The following, copied from a recent number of the *Richmond Dispatch*, will show the present condition of the trade:

"HIGH PRICE FOR SLAVES.—There has been a greater demand for slaves in this city, during the months of May, June and July, than ever known before, and they have commanded better prices during that time. The latter is an unusual thing, as the summer months are generally the dullest in the year for that description of property. Prime field hands (women) will now bring from \$1,000 to \$1,100, and men from \$1,250 to \$1,500. Not long since, a likely negro girl sold in this city, at private sale, for \$1,700. A large number of negroes are bought on speculation, and probably there is not less than \$1,000,000 in town, now, seeking investure in such property."

From the above, and similar sources of information, we may safely estimate the number of slaves annually sold from the Northern Slave States to the Southern at 25,000. An interesting feature of this traffic will appear on examination of the *Census Table*, showing the "ratio of ages of the slaves in 1850." *

In the States of Maryland, Virginia, North Carolina, and South Carolina, the average number of slaves between twenty and thirty years of age is 16.72 per cent. In the States of Georgia, Alabama, Mississippi, and Florida, Arkansas, Louisiana, and Texas, the number between the same ages is 19.29 per cent. In like manner, in the four first-mentioned States the average number between thirty and forty years of age is 10.27 per cent, and in the seven last mentioned it is 11.94 per cent.

* See *Census Compend.*, pp. 89-90.

On the other hand, the number between sixty and seventy years of age is, in the four exporting States, 2.76 per cent, and in the seven importing States, 1.94 per cent; also, between seventy and eighty years old, the number is, in the first four 1.16, and in the others but .55 per cent. Showing that in the slave-importing States the number of slaves between twenty and forty years of age is at least fifteen per cent greater than in the exporting; while, on the other hand, in the slave-exporting States, the number of slaves between sixty and eighty years of age is more than fifty per cent greater than in the importing. This is the more remarkable, since *exactly the reverse* is true of the free colored population in those same States, as will be seen by a similar analysis of the table on page 75 of the *Compendium*.

Another fact with regard to the slave population of the South, and one which must soon become of great interest, is the increasing ratio of the slave to the free population. By a table on the 85th page of the *Compendium** it will be seen that, in the words of the *Census Report*, "while the proportion has been increasing for the slaves in the Southern States generally, it has decreased in Virginia, Maryland, the District of Columbia, and Missouri." Indeed, it has increased in *most*, until it has become in Arkansas (omitting fractions), 22 per cent; in Alabama and Florida 44 per cent; in Louisiana 47 per cent; in Mississippi 51 per cent; and in South Carolina 57 per cent of the whole population; whereas it was, in 1800, in Mississippi but 39 per cent, and in South Carolina but 42 per cent; and a similar increase of the ratio of the slave to the entire population will be found in all the Southern Slave States.

* See Appendix.

CHAPTER III.

POPULAR REPRESENTATION.

THE following tables present the subject of Popular Representation in a very plain and simple manner, showing the white population, free colored, and total free population, and the popular vote cast in 1852. They also show the number of representatives in Congress, and the electoral votes, both as they now are and as they would be were freemen only represented.

TABLE VII.

Political View of the Slave States.

SLAVE STATES.	White Population.	Free Colored Population.	Total Free Population.	Popular Vote cast in 1852.	Representation in Congress.	Representation were not Slaves represented.	Electoral Vote as it now is.	Electoral Vote were not Slaves represented.
Alabama	426,514	2,265	428,779	41,919	7	5	9	7
Arkansas	162,189	608	162,797	19,577	2	2	4	4
Delaware	71,169	18,073	89,242	12,673	1	1	3	3
Florida	47,203	932	48,135	7,193	1	1	3	3
Georgia	521,572	2,931	524,503	51,265	8	6	10	8
Kentucky	761,413	10,011	771,424	111,139	10	9	12	11
Louisiana	255,491	17,462	272,953	35,902	4	3	6	5
Maryland	417,943	74,723	492,666	75,153	6	6	8	8
Mississippi	295,718	930	296,648	44,424	5	3	7	5
Missouri	592,004	2,618	594,622	65,586	7	7	9	9
North Carolina	553,028	27,463	580,491	78,861	8	7	10	9
South Carolina	274,563	8,960	283,523		6	3	8	5
Tennessee	756,836	6,422	763,258	115,916	10	9	12	11
Texas	154,034	397	154,431	18,547	2	2	4	4
Virginia	894,800	54,333	949,133	129,545	13	11	15	13
Total	6,184,477	228,128	6,412,605	807,800	90	75	120	105

TABLE VIII.

Political View of the Free States.

FREE STATES.	White Population.	Free Colored Population.	Total Free Population.	Popular Vote cast in 1852.	Representation in Congress.	Representation were not Slaves represented.	Electoral Vote as it now is.	Electoral Vote were not Slaves represented.
California.....	91,635	962	92,597	74,736	2	2	4	4
Connecticut ..	368,069	7,693	375,762	66,768	4	4	6	6
Illinois	846,034	5,438	851,470	155,497	9	10	11	12
Indiana	977,154	11,262	988,416	183,134	11	12	13	14
Iowa	191,881	333	192,214	16,845	2	2	4	4
Maine	581,813	1,356	583,169	82,182	6	7	8	9
Massachusetts	985,450	9,064	994,514	132,936	11	12	13	14
Michigan	395,071	2,583	397,654	82,939	4	5	6	7
N. Hampshire.	317,456	520	317,976	52,839	3	4	5	6
New Jersey ...	465,509	23,810	489,319	83,211	5	6	7	8
New York	3,048,225	49,069	3,097,294	522,294	33	33	35	38
Ohio	1,955,050	25,279	1,980,329	353,428	21	23	23	25
Pennsylvania.	2,258,160	53,625	2,311,785	386,214	25	27	27	29
Rhode Island ..	143,875	3,670	147,545	17,005	2	2	4	4
Vermont	313,402	718	314,120	43,838	3	4	5	6
Wisconsin	304,756	635	305,391	64,712	3	3	5	5
Total	13,238,670	196,016	13,434,686	2,318,578	144	159	176	191

It will be recollected that the area of the Slave States is 851,448 square miles, and that of the Free States 612,597. The white population of the Slave States is 6,184,477, and of the Free States 13,238,670. The number of free inhabitants in the Slave States is 6,412,605, and in the Free States 13,434,686. The number of freemen in the Free States is, therefore, over 600,000 *more than double* the number in the Slave States.

The representation in Congress is, from the Slave States ninety members, representing the 6,000,000; and from the Free States one hundred and forty-four, representing the 13,000,000. This discrepancy between population and representation arises from the fact that, in determining the number of representatives to which each State is entitled, five slaves are reckoned equal to three freemen. The 3,200,304 slaves, therefore, in the Slave States are reckoned equal to 1,920,182½

freemen, and are represented accordingly. The slaves of the South have, therefore, a representation equal to that of the Free States of New Hampshire, Vermont, Connecticut, Iowa, and Wisconsin.

Without the representation allowed to slave property, the number of representatives from the Slave States would be seventy-five, instead of ninety; and from the Free States one hundred and fifty-nine, instead of one hundred and forty-four; a gain of thirty in favor of the Free States, making their representation double that of the Slave States, even without the representation of Rhode Island, Wisconsin, California, and Iowa.*

By such a change, Kentucky, Louisiana, North Carolina, and Tennessee, would lose one representative each; Alabama, Georgia, Virginia, and Mississippi, two each; and South Carolina three. Illinois, Indiana, Maine, Michigan, New Hampshire, New Jersey and Vermont would each gain one; Ohio and Pennsylvania two, and New York three.

The free population of the whole fifteen Slave States is not 9,000 more than that of the three States of New York, Pennsylvania and Massachusetts. These three States have now sixty-nine representatives.

The popular vote cast at the last Presidential election, (1852) in the Slave States was 807,800; in the Free States 2,318,578 — a majority in favor of the latter of 1,510,778, and a ratio of almost three to one. The aggregate vote of the following eleven States, viz: Maryland, Virginia, North Carolina, Georgia, Alabama, Mississippi, Louisiana, Florida, Arkansas, Delaware, and Texas, was less than that of the single State of New York; the total vote of all these States being 515,159, while that of New York was 522,294; and yet,

* It will be seen that in the late severe contests in the House of Representatives, had freemen only been represented, the question would invariably have been decided in favor of the North.

according to the present system of representation, these States are entitled to seventy-nine electoral votes, and New York to only thirty-five.

The three States, Massachusetts, Pennsylvania, and Ohio, or even the two States of Pennsylvania and New York, cast a popular vote larger, by more than 60,000, than *all* the Slave States. The three first named States have sixty-three electoral votes; the last two have sixty-two; and the fifteen Slave States one hundred and twenty!

In the North, 93,296 freemen and 16,101 voters are required to elect a representative to Congress. In the South, only 71,251 freemen and 8,976 voters. A President elected by the Northern votes over a candidate receiving the Southern votes would have a *popular majority* of 1,510,778 votes, or about twice the number of votes ever cast by the South.

A President elected by the South, with the votes of States enough in the North to elect him, would not be chosen by the majority. Then, suppose a candidate to receive every vote in the South (one hundred and twenty electoral votes), and the votes of Maine, New Hampshire, Massachusetts, and Rhode Island (thirty electoral votes), this would give him one hundred and fifty electoral votes to one hundred and forty-six against him; but the popular majority against him would be almost a million of votes, or more than the whole Southern vote, as will be seen by the table, the South having 807,800 voters, and the Free States mentioned, 284,962; being a total of 1,092,762 votes; while the remaining Free States, casting but one hundred and forty-six electoral votes, would have a popular vote of 2,033,616, which is a majority of 940,854. If a President were so elected, would the North and the Northwest be justified in dissolving the Union therefor?

Or, again: suppose a President elected by the vote of the South and the vote of Pennsylvania and New Jersey, the electoral vote would be one hundred and fifty-four for him and

one hundred and forty-two against him ; the popular vote would be 1,277,225 for him, and 1,849,153 against him—or a majority of 571,928 votes, which is about three-quarters of the whole vote of the South. Would the Northeast and Northwest probably dissolve the Union on such a result ?

CHAPTER IV.

AGRICULTURE.

THE tables found in this chapter show the condition of agriculture in the United States for the year ending June, 1850, when no other date is given.

These tables show the number of farms and plantations, acres of cultivated land, value of the same, value per acre, value of farm implements and machinery, and whole area, in acres, of the several Free and Slave States. California is necessarily omitted from the list of the Free States, because of the defective returns of the marshals for that State. This omission can only be supplied by taking the State valuation for 1852, the first made by the State authority. In that year there were assessed for taxation in California, 6,719,442 acres of land, valued at \$35,879,929, or \$5.34 per acre.

In Table X., there is an evident and remarkable error — either of the marshals, or of the compiler of the census returns — in regard to the value of farms in South Carolina. This table, carefully copied from the Compendium of the Census, gives for South Carolina :

Acres improved and unimproved land, . . .	16,217,600
Valued at, ...	\$82,431,684
“ per acre, ...	\$5.08

Now the true value of lands in South Carolina is shown by its State valuation to differ essentially from this. Thus, in 1851, there were assessed for taxation in South Carolina (*American Almanac* for 1853, p. 278) :

Acres of land, ...	17,073,412
Valued at, ...	\$23,952,679
“ per acre, ...	\$1.40

TABLE IX.

Statement showing the Number of Farms and Plantations, Acres of Improved and Unimproved Land, Cash Value of Farms, Average Value per Acre, and Value of Farming Implements and Machinery, in the several Free States, with the whole Area of each, according to the Census Returns for 1850.

FREE STATES.	Number of Farms and Plantations.	Acres of Improved Land.	Acres of Unimproved Land.	Cash Value of Farms.	Average Value per Acre.	Value of Farming Implements and Machinery.	Whole Area of States in Acres.
Connecticut	22,445	1,768,178	615,701	\$72,726,422	\$30.50	\$1,892,541	2,991,360
Illinois	76,308	5,039,543	6,997,867	96,133,290	7.99	6,405,561	35,459,200
Indiana	93,896	5,046,543	7,746,879	136,385,173	10.66	6,704,444	21,637,760
Iowa	14,805	824,682	1,911,382	16,657,567	6.09	1,172,869	32,584,960
Maine	46,760	2,039,596	2,515,797	54,861,748	12.04	2,284,557	20,330,240
Massachusetts	34,069	2,133,436	1,222,576	109,076,347	32.50	3,209,584	4,992,000
Michigan	34,089	1,999,110	2,454,780	51,872,446	11.83	2,891,371	35,993,520
New Hampshire	29,229	2,251,488	1,140,926	55,245,997	16.28	2,314,125	5,939,200
New Jersey	23,905	1,767,991	984,955	120,237,511	43.67	4,425,503	5,324,800
New York	170,621	12,408,964	6,710,120	554,546,642	29.00	22,084,926	30,080,000
Ohio	143,807	9,851,493	8,146,000	358,758,603	19.99	12,750,585	25,576,960
Pennsylvania	127,577	8,623,619	6,294,728	407,876,099	27.27	14,722,541	29,440,000
Rhode Island	5,385	356,487	197,451	17,070,802	30.82	497,201	835,840
Vermont	29,763	2,601,409	1,524,413	63,367,297	15.36	2,739,282	6,535,680
Wisconsin	20,177	1,045,499	1,931,159	28,538,563	9.54	1,641,568	34,511,360
Total	877,736	57,688,040	50,394,734	\$2,143,344,437	\$19.83	\$85,736,658	292,234,880

TABLE X.

Statement showing the Number of Farms and Plantations, Acres of Improved and Unimproved Land, Cash Value of Farms, Average Value per Acre, and Value of Farming Implements and Machinery, in the several Slave States, with the whole Area of each, according to the Census Returns for 1850.

SLAVE STATES.	Number of Farms and Plantations.	Acres of Improved Land.	Acres of Unimproved Land.	Cash Value of Farms.	Average Value per Acre.	Value of Farming Implements and Machinery.	Whole Area of States in Acres.
Alabama.....	41,964	4,435,614	7,702,067	\$64,333,224	\$5.30	\$5,125,663	32,462,080
Arkansas.....	17,758	781,530	1,816,684	15,265,245	5.87	1,601,296	33,406,720
Delaware.....	6,063	580,862	375,282	18,880,031	19.75	510,279	1,356,800
Florida.....	4,304	349,049	1,246,240	6,323,109	3.97	658,795	37,931,530
Georgia.....	51,759	6,378,479	16,442,900	95,753,445	4.19	5,894,150	37,120,000
Kentucky.....	74,777	5,968,270	10,981,478	155,021,262	9.03	11,576,938	24,115,200
Louisiana.....	13,422	1,590,025	3,399,018	75,814,398	13.71	2,284,557	26,403,200
Maryland.....	21,860	2,797,905	1,836,445	87,178,545	18.81	2,463,443	7,119,360
Mississippi.....	33,960	3,444,368	7,046,061	54,738,634	5.22	5,762,927	30,179,840
Missouri.....	54,458	2,938,425	6,794,245	63,225,543	6.49	3,931,535	43,123,200
North Carolina.....	56,963	5,453,975	15,543,008	67,891,766	3.24	3,931,532	32,450,560
South Carolina.....	29,967	4,072,551	12,145,049	82,431,684	5.08	4,136,354	18,806,400
Tennessee.....	72,735	5,175,173	13,808,849	97,831,212	5.16	5,360,210	29,184,000
Texas.....	12,198	643,976	10,852,363	16,550,008	1.44	2,151,704	152,002,560
Virginia.....	77,013	10,360,135	15,792,176	216,401,543	8.27	7,021,772	39,265,280
Total.....	564,203	54,970,427	125,781,865	\$1,117,649,649	\$6.18	\$65,345,625	544,926,720

In 1854 (*American Almanac* for 1856, p. 293), there were assessed for taxation:

Acres of land, ...	17,289,359
Valued at, ...	\$22,836,374
“ per acre, ...	\$1.32

By Table IX. it will be seen that the whole area in acres of the Free States, not including

California, is	292,231,880
Number of acres under cultivation, ...	108,082,774
“ of acres not under cultivation, ...	184,149,106
Value of the lands under cultivation, ...	\$2,143,344,437
“ per acre, ...	\$19.83

Whole area of the Slave States (including South Carolina, according to the incorrect census figures)

	544,742,926
Number of acres under cultivation, ...	180,572,292
“ of acres not under cultivation, ...	364,170,634
Value of the land under cultivation, ...	\$1,117,649,649
“ per acre, ...	\$6.18

As to general results, the error in the South Carolina return and the omission of California will about balance each other.

Including only the lands under cultivation in the two sections, the value per acre in the North is more than three times that of the South. Including the whole area, the proportion is still larger.

The value per acre of land in the States, on the dividing line between freedom and slavery, is suggestive—thus, in the Free States, the value of farms per acre is as follows, viz:

New Jersey, ...	\$43 67
Pennsylvania, ...	27 27
Ohio, ...	19 99
Indiana, ...	10 66
Illinois, ...	7 99
Average, ...	\$22 17

In the border Slave States the value is as follows, viz :

Delaware,	.	.	.	.	.	.	\$19 75
Maryland,	.	.	.	.	.	.	18 81
Virginia,	.	.	.	.	.	.	8 27
Kentucky,	.	.	.	.	.	.	9 03
Missouri,	.	.	.	.	.	.	6 49

Average,	.	.	.	.	.	.	\$9 25
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Take those Slave States which, by position, population, or intercourse, feel least the influence of the Free States. *Thus, the value of farms per acre is, in

North Carolina,	.	.	.	.	.	.	\$3 24
South Carolina,	.	.	.	.	.	.	1 32
Tennessee,	.	.	.	.	.	.	5 16
Florida,	.	.	.	.	.	.	3 97
Georgia,	.	.	.	.	.	.	4 19
Alabama,	.	.	.	.	.	.	5 30
Arkansas,	.	.	.	.	.	.	5 87
Texas,	.	.	.	.	.	.	1 44
Mississippi,	.	.	.	.	.	.	5 22

Average,	.	.	.	.	.	.	\$3 74
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Table XI. shows the value of the agricultural productions of the several Free States and Slave States for the year 1840. It is taken from the Annual Report of the Secretary of the Treasury on the Finances for 1854-5. It is understood that the articles of wheat (54,770,311 bushels in the Free States and 30,052,961 bushels in the Slave States), sugar (31,010,234 pounds in the Free States and 124,090,566 pounds in the Slave States), and molasses, are not included.

Table XII. has been prepared with great labor. In the first two columns are given the amount and value of live stock, and the amount of agricultural products, in the Free and Slave

TABLE XI.

Statement of the Value of the Agricultural Productions of the Free and of the Slave States for the year 1840.

FREE STATES.		SLAVE STATES.	
Connecticut	\$11,201,618	Alabama.....	\$23,833,470
Illinois	11,577,281	Arkansas	4,973,655
Indiana	14,484,610	Delaware	2,877,350
Maine	14,725,615	Georgia.....	29,612,436
Massachusetts	14,371,732	Kentucky	26,233,968
Michigan	3,207,048	Louisiana	17,976,017
New Hampshire	10,762,019	Maryland	14,015,665
New Jersey	15,314,006	Mississippi	26,297,666
New York	91,244,178	Missouri	9,755,615
Ohio	27,212,004	North Carolina	24,727,297
Pennsylvania	51,232,204	South Carolina	20,555,919
Rhode Island	1,951,141	Tennessee.....	27,917,692
Vermont.....	16,977,664	Virginia	48,644,905
Iowa	688,308	Florida	1,817,718
Wisconsin	445,559	.....	.....
Total.....	\$285,394,987	Total.....	\$279,239,373

States, for the years 1840 and 1850. In the third and fourth columns are given the values according to the calculations of De Bow, in which the products of the North and the South are calculated at the same prices, which calculation is unfavorable to the North.

As to those products whose value is given by De Bow (*Census Compendium*, p. 176), in the aggregate, their value has been distributed as follows, viz:

Eggs and feathers, according to the relative amount of poultry in the North and South in 1840.

Milk, according to amount of butter and cheese in each section in 1850.

Annual increase of stock and cattle, sheep and pigs, under one year old, according to value of live stock in 1850.

Residuum of crops, manure, etc., according to population.

Small crops, as carrots, etc., one-fourth to the South and three-fourths to the North.

In the fifth and sixth columns are given the values according to the prices in Andrews' voluminous Report on Trade and Commerce, made August 19, 1852. The prices are the same for the two sections. The aggregate products have been distributed according to the best authorities and information which could be obtained.

In the seventh and eighth columns are given the average crops per acre in the two sections as returned by the marshals in 1850.

"The quantity of wheat in 1850," says De Bow, "is believed to be under-stated, and the crop was also short." "Investigations undertaken by the State legislatures and agricultural societies," says Andrews (*Report*, p. 696), "prove that the aggregate production of wheat reported in the census tables was below the average crop by at least 30,000,000 bushels." It seems fair to add to our table for "understatement" the amount of 15,000,000 bushels,* which distributed according to production would give Free States, 10,823,899 bushels; value \$10,823,899; Slave States, 4,176,101 bushels; value, \$4,176,101.

Of hemp and flax, De Bow says: "It is impossible to reconcile the hemp and flax returns of 1840 and 1850. No doubt in both cases, tons and pounds have often been confounded. In a few of the States, such as Indiana and Illinois, the returns of 1850 were rejected altogether for insufficiency."

* The following are the census returns of wheat, in five large wheat-growing counties in Ohio, for 1850, and the returns made by the State authorities for the same year :

Counties.	Census Returns.	State Returns.
Stark, bushels, ...	590,594	1,071,177
Wayne, "	571,377	1,020,000
Muskingum, "	415,847	1,003,000
Licking, "	336,317	849,116
Coshocton "	416,918	852,809
	2,331,053	4,806,193

TABLE XII.

Amount of Live Stock (and its Value in 1850) and Agricultural Productions of the Free and Slave States, with the Value of the same (for 1850), according to De Bow and Andrews, for the years 1840 and 1850; and also the Average Crops, per Acre, of certain Products, according to De Bow.

Amount of Live Stock and Agricultural Productions in the United States, for the years 1840 and 1850.	Free States.	Slave States.	Value ac- cording to De Bow's prices. Free States. 1850.	Value ac- cording to prices in An- drews' Report. Free States. 1850.	Value ac- cording to the prices in An- drews' Report. Slave States. 1850.	Average Crops per Acre. Free Slave States.
Horses	2,310,984	201,551	\$55,990,247	\$72,319,491	\$27,908,426	9.35
Asses and Mules	45,840	618,988	\$54,886,377	27,903,425		
Horses, Asses, and Mules	2,097,305	2,288,219				
Working Oxen	881,607	821,976				
Milk Cows	3,626,285	2,882,625				
Other Cattle	4,237,928	6,079,309				
Total Cattle	7,567,220	7,401,092				
Sheep	14,691,969	6,685,076				
"	14,144,478	5,166,180				
Swine	9,605,978	20,807,408				
"	10,085,150	16,211,470				
Value of Live Stock	\$286,374,541	\$253,723,687	\$55,990,247	\$72,319,491	\$27,908,426	12.35
Value of Animals Slaughtered	\$56,990,247	\$54,886,377				
Wheat, bushels	72,319,491	27,903,426				
"	54,770,811	20,052,961				
Rye, "	12,580,732	1,608,240	6,919,403	884,532	1,431,334	15.55
"	14,321,158	4,324,409				
Oats, "	96,690,002	49,882,973	29,009,701	14,964,892	21,948,508	25.20
"	80,056,173	43,015,168				
Barley, "	7,986,110	161,907	5,576,277	113,335	97,144	23.70
"	4,092,463	159,041				
Indian Corn, bushels	242,735,176	248,992,371	121,367,588	174,496,135	209,385,393	31.14
"	125,157,562	252,374,317				
Irish Potatoes, "	59,320,970	7,706,392	23,728,388	3,082,145	39,490,727	118.53
Sweet "	1,122,330	97,145,558	661,165	18,572,779	29,716,446	104.
Irish and Sweet Potatoes, bushels	89,043,062	19,254,968				
Buckwheat, bushels	8,550,618	405,347	6,669,432	316,171	202,673	19.62
"	6,906,600	885,143				
Hay, tons	12,093,661	1,137,784	88,855,627	7,964,448	14,222,290	1.21
"	9,403,328	844,780				
Hops, pounds	3,463,191	23,780	1,212,117	11,823	5,743	
"	1,212,418	19,084				
Clover Seed, bushels	411,152	57,820	2,055,760	289,100	289,100	1.19
"	180	65,688				
Other Grass Seed, bushels	331,321	65,688	702,442	1,766,105	337,940	

Add, then, for "insufficiency" of returns, to the amount of hemp and flax for these two States enough to make their production in 1850 equal it in 1840, and its value will be, at six cents per pound, \$1,225,138. With these corrections, the grand aggregate of the agricultural products of the United States, for the year ending June, 1850, will be, using Andrews' prices, —

Free States, ...	\$858,634,334
Slave States, ...	631,277,417
Total, ...	\$1,489,911,751

The following is a list of the prices of leading products in the foregoing table, by De Bow, and Andrews :

Indian corn, bushel, . . .	\$ 50	\$ 60
Wheat, " . . .	1 00	1 00
Oats, " . . .	30	44
Irish potatoes, " . . .	40	75
Sweet " " . . .	50	80
Rye, " " . . .	55	89
Peas and beans, " . . .	62 $\frac{1}{2}$	80
Cotton, bale of 400 pounds, .	40 32	40 00
Cane sugar, hhds. of 1000 lbs.	52 20	40 00
Maple sugar, pound, . . .	5	5
Butter, " . . .	16	20
Rice, " . . .	2	3 4-10
Hay, ton, . . .	7 00	12 50
Hemp, " . . .	150 47	136 00
Wool, pound, . . .	30	50
Tobacco, " . . .	7	6
Flax, " . . .	10	6

A glance at the prices of De Bow will satisfy any one that, if they be fair for Virginia, Tennessee, and the South generally, and for Illinois, Missouri, and the West, they cannot be for New England, New York, New Jersey, and Pennsylvania.

Thus of Indian corn, which De Bow calls 50 cents per bushel. If Southern and Western corn be worth that price where it is raised, Northern and Eastern corn must be worth at least 75 cents. So of wheat, which De Bow puts at a dollar. If that be fair for Tennessee, Missouri, and Illinois, a dollar and twenty-five cents is a moderate price for the Northern and Eastern States mentioned. So of oats, rye, potatoes, hay, wool, peas and beans, and some other products. There should be added then to De Bow's aggregates, for the products of New England, New York, New Jersey, and Pennsylvania, as follows, viz:

Indian corn,	56,639,174 bush. at 25 cts.	\$14,159,793
Wheat,	31,183,273 " 25	7,795,818
Oats,	59,570,301 " 15	8,935,545
Rye,	11,779,509 " 20	2,355,902
Potatoes,	44,204,441 " 35	15,471,554
Hay,	9,471,369 tons, \$7 00	66,299,573
Wool,	22,283,776 lbs. 10	2,228,377
Peas and beans,	1,261,732 bush. 50	630,866

Total, ... \$117,877,428

This list might be extended still further. Adding this amount to the aggregates, according to De Bow's figures, and the total amount will be,—

Free States, ...	\$827,054,955
Slave States, ...	634,570,057

Total, ... \$1,461,625,012

This is not essentially different from the result arrived at by taking Andrews' prices. By neither mode of calculation is full justice done to the North.

VALUE OF AGRICULTURAL PRODUCTIONS, PER ACRE, IN 1850.

The value of agricultural productions per acre for 1850 is

obtained by dividing the total product by the number of acres of land under cultivation. Thus,—

FREE STATES.

Number of acres in farms,		108,193,522
Agricultural product,		\$858,634,334
Product per acre,		\$7.94

SLAVE STATES.

Number of acres in farms and plantations,		180,572,392
Agricultural product,		\$631,277,417
Product per acre,		\$3.49

VALUE OF AGRICULTURAL PRODUCTS, PER HEAD, IN 1850.

No enumeration was made in 1850 of the whole number of persons engaged in agriculture, as was done in 1840, and the returns for the latter year must therefore be the basis of our calculation for 1850, as to the number, and the consequent value, of the products per head in the two sections of our country. Assuming, then, that in the North the proportion of the whole population of those engaged in agriculture was the same in 1850 as in 1840, and that in the South the proportion of the free population thus engaged was no larger than in the North, we have the following result, viz :

FREE STATES.

Whole number engaged in agriculture in 1850,	2,509,126
Value of agricultural products,	 \$858,634,334
Value per head,	 \$3.42

SLAVE STATES.

Number of free population engaged in agriculture in 1850,		1,197,649
Number of slaves engaged in agriculture in 1850,		2,500,000
Total,		3,697,649
Value of agricultural products,		\$631,277,417
Value per head,		\$171

De Bow says of the slave population of 1850 (Census Compendium, p. 94), there are "about 2,500,000 slaves directly employed in agriculture." This is a small estimate, and the number given above (1,197,649) of the 6,412,605 free population of the South engaged in agriculture is very small. With the little manufactures and commerce of the South, what are the people of that region engaged in? But, under protest, we adopt the above conclusions. This, then, is the grand result in the department of agriculture, the peculiar province of the South:

The North, with half as much land under cultivation, and two-thirds as many persons engaged in farming, produces two hundred and twenty-seven millions of dollars worth of agricultural products in a year more than the South; twice as much on an acre, and more than double the value per head for every person engaged in farming.

And this, while the South, paying nothing for its labor, has better land, a monopoly of cotton, rice, cane sugar, and nearly so of tobacco and hemp, and a climate granting two and sometimes three crops in a year. Nor does a comparison of the products of 1850 with those of 1840 afford any ground for hope for the South. A recurrence to Table XI. will show that, excluding wheat, sugar, and molasses from the aggregate, the production of the South for 1840 was nearly equal that of the North. Perhaps in 1830 it was greater.

Table XIII. gives the population, white and slave, number of acres of land, value of farms, value of land per acre, number of students and scholars in public and private schools, and the number of whites over twenty unable to read and write, in the counties in the several States on the dividing line between the Free and Slave States, from the Atlantic to the Mississippi. The statistics are from De Bow's Compendium of the Census of 1850. The table is an important one, and deserves a more extended consideration than can be given it in this work.

TABLE XIII.

A Statement of Population, White and Slave, Number of acres of Land, Value of Farms, Value of Farms per acre, Number of Students and Scholars in Public and Private Schools, and the Number of Whites over 20 years of age unable to read and write, in the Counties on the dividing line between the Free and the Slave States, from the Atlantic to the Mississippi, with the like Statistics of the Remaining Counties of the respective States.

Border Counties and Remaining Counties of their several States.	White Population in 1850.	Slaves in 1850.	Acres of Improved and Unimproved Land in 1850.	Value of Improved and Unimproved Land in 1850.	Value of Farms per Acre.	Pupils in Colleges, Academies, and Private Schools.	White Scholars in Public Schools during the year.	No. of Whites over 5 and under 20 years old.	No. of Whites over 20 unable to read & write.
Counties of Delaware adjacent to New Jersey	50,849	741	501,667	\$15,848,760	\$31.53	2,075	10,596	18,707	6,292
The remaining County of Delaware	20,320	1,549	454,667	8,541,550	7.79	80	3,620	7,902	8,485
Counties of New Jersey adjacent to Delaware	47,486		386,726	14,553,731	37.63	185	10,642	17,628	1,120
Remaining Counties of New Jersey	413,023		2,396,226	105,683,781	44.66	10,129	78,633	148,253	11,667
County of Pennsylvania adjoining Delaware	23,122		105,569	9,067,082	85.89	903	5,142	8,320	422
Counties of Maryland adjoining Pennsylvania	315,292	17,430	1,615,227	47,351,615	29.63	10,386	42,886	105,229	19,298
Remaining Counties of Maryland	102,661	72,938	3,019,123	41,790,373	13.84	1,628	17,562	42,488	19,168
Counties of Pennsylvania adjoining Maryland	330,688		2,798,532	105,136,277	37.56	8,245	77,376	123,613	11,473
Counties of Virginia adjoining Pennsylvania	64,540	527	732,913	9,612,647	12.98	867	10,505	24,398	4,001
Remaining Counties of Virginia	830,290	472,001	25,419,398	213,910,698	8.42	9,544	69,206	320,897	83,832
Counties of Pennsylvania adjoining Virginia	128,027		1,373,119	32,965,617	24.74	1,330	31,293	49,330	3,708
Remaining Counties of Pennsylvania	2,120,233		13,545,228	374,890,482	27.68	25,941	496,828	775,320	47,575
Counties of Ohio adjacent to Virginia	88,251	1,689	980,219	5,543,346	5.65	150	6,677	15,614	3,845
Remaining Counties of Ohio	1,858,087		843,545	9,354,429	11.09	763	22,374	38,463	4,968
Counties of Kentucky adjacent to Ohio	31,749	9,672	17,153,948	349,404,174	20.37	17,911	489,904	719,170	51,980
Counties of Ohio adjacent to Kentucky	231,724		926,151	66,223,351	18.37	942	12,327	30,944	4,422
Counties of Kentucky adjacent to Indiana	106,473	28,731	1,069,308	34,577,488	32.34	5,994	48,102	91,996	8,334
Remaining Counties of Kentucky	654,940	182,251	1,633,014	17,250,880	10.44	2,754	16,297	293,308	5,262
Counties of Indiana adjacent to Kentucky	134,509		1,276,969	142,339,410	9.34	11,721	114,650	293,596	62,107
Remaining Counties of Indiana	842,545		11,516,433	121,904,940	10.59	6,140	26,985	45,637	7,075
Counties of Kentucky adjacent to Illinois	27,443	5,908	637,218	2,918,419	4.65	338	193,369	333,635	62,370
Counties of Illinois adjacent to Kentucky	18,101		235,716	2,018,685	4.54	none.	5,235	11,085	2,700
Remaining Counties of Illinois	828,933		11,801,696	95,039,994	8.05	4,086	179,682	328,079	33,575

In proportion to the white population, these border counties of the Slave States contain the following per cent of slaves, viz :

Delaware,	.	.	.	.	.	1 per cent.
Maryland,	.	.	.	.	.	5 "
Virginia,	.	.	.	.	.	2 "
Kentucky,	.	.	.	.	.	21 "

The remaining counties of the same States give the following, viz :

Delaware,	.	.	.	.	.	8 per cent.
Maryland,	.	.	.	.	.	71 "
Virginia,	.	.	.	.	.	59 "
Kentucky,	.	.	.	.	.	31 "

The value of lands per acre will be seen by an examination of the table; and it will be noticed, that, with the exception of the broken region of Virginia, which lies adjacent to Ohio, and that of Kentucky, which lies adjacent to Illinois, the value of lands per acre in the counties of the Slave States adjoining the Free is greater than that of the remaining counties of their respective States. The opposite is true, generally, of the border counties of the Free States. Thus, the effects of freedom and slavery on the value of the adjacent lands is reciprocal. The neighborhood of slavery lessens their value in the Free States; the neighborhood of freedom increases it in the Slave States. To such an extent is this true, that, in Virginia, for example, the lands in counties naturally poor, are, by the proximity of freedom, rendered more valuable than those unequalled lands in the better portions of the State. Indeed, this table shows the fact that the lands in the border counties of the Slave States are worth more per acre than the remaining lands in the same States, with the addition of the value of the whole number of their slaves at \$400 per head. And this, be it remembered, while the value of lands in the balance of the counties of the border Slave States is double that of the lands in the Slave States not adjacent to the Free. It is for the interest of the Slave States to be hedged in by a

circle of Free States. If Tennessee had been a Free State, her lands would have been worth as much as those of Ohio, — \$19.99 per acre, instead of \$5.16 as now, — and who cannot see that, in that event, the lands of North Carolina, South Carolina, and Georgia would have been worth more per acre than the sums of \$3.24, \$1.40, \$4.19, respectively. Not only could Tennessee afford to sacrifice the whole value of her slaves for the sake of freedom, but even North Carolina, South Carolina, and Georgia could afford to sacrifice the whole value of their own slaves, and pay for all of the slaves in Tennessee for the sake of having a free neighbor. The increased value of lands would more than compensate for the sacrifice. The figures prove this.

Tennessee has 18,984,022 acres of land under cultivation, worth \$5.16 per acre. Multiply this number of acres by \$14.83 (the difference between the value of lands in Tennessee and Ohio), and the amount is, . . . \$281,533,046

Tennessee has 239,459 slaves; value, at \$400

each, ... 95,783,600

This leaves the respectable margin of . . . 185,749,446

North Carolina, South Carolina, and Georgia

have 60,891,774 acres of land, worth \$3 08

per acre. Multiply this number of acres by

\$15.73 (the difference in value between the

lands in these States and the border Slave

State of Maryland), and the amount is . . \$957,827,605

Number of slaves in these States, . . . 1,055,214

Value at \$400 each, ... \$422,085,600

Value of slaves in Tennessee, as above, . . 95,783,600

Total, ... \$517,869,200

Deducting this from the increased value of

lands, and the balance in favor of free neigh-

bors is the sum of \$439,958,405

Thus, the figures show that Tennessee could afford, for the sake of freedom, to sacrifice the whole value of her quarter of a million of slaves, and pay in addition the sum of \$185,749,446. For the sake of a free neighbor, and to bring up their lands to the value of those of Maryland, the States of North and South Carolina, and Georgia, could afford to sacrifice the whole of their own slaves, pay for those of Tennessee, and make \$439,958,405 by the bargain, which sum is considerably more than twice the present value of all their lands. Nay, these States could afford to send off, singly, every slave within their limits, in a coach with two horses, and provisions for a year, if they could but bring up the value of their lands to that of the land in northern Maryland. Indignation, and patriotism, and dissolution of the Union, indeed, if a fugitive now and then be not reclaimed! South Carolina could afford to pay every year more money than she spent in the whole Revolutionary war, to make her whole number of slaves fugitives; and then make money enough by the transaction to fence in the whole State with a picket fence, to prevent their return.

NEW ENGLAND, SOUTH CAROLINA, AND VIRGINIA.

Comparisons between portions of the North and the South can be made to any extent. A few are added, with such suggestions as seem proper.

Table XIV. is a comparison between the States of Rhode Island and Connecticut, and an equal extent of cultivated lands in certain counties of South Carolina. The table includes the city of Charleston. The comparison extends to the value of lands, population, value of agricultural and manufactured products, commerce, and education. The value of lands in the South Carolina counties is the fictitious one of De Bow's Compendium, and not the real one of the State valuation.

The portions compared in Table XIV. are of equal age as well as extent. The free portion has eleven times the white population; nearly four times the total population of white and slave. Its lands are worth six times as much, and twice as much after

TABLE XIV.

A Statement of the Acres of Land in Farms, Cash Value thereof, Value per acre, White and Slave Population, with the Value of the Slaves and their Value per acre, Value of Agricultural and Manufacturing Products, Amount of Tonnage owned, and built in 1855, and the number of Students in Colleges, &c., and Scholars in Public Schools, in the States of Rhode Island and Connecticut, and an equal area in South Carolina.

States.	Acres of Improved Land in 1850.	Acres of Unimproved Land in 1850.	Cash Value of Farms in 1850.	Cash Value of Farms per acre, 1850.	White Population in 1850.	Slaves in 1850.	Value of Slaves per acre, at \$400 each.	Value of Slaves at \$400 each.	Value of Agricultural Products in 1850, according to De Bow.	Value of Manufactures in 1850.	Tonnage owned June 30, 1855.	Tonnage built during the year ending June 30, 1855.	Students in Colleges, Academies, and Private Schools, 1850.	Scholars in Public Schools, 1850.
Connecticut ...	1,763,178	615,701	\$74,613,963	\$31.34	383,039				\$8,638,789	\$45,302,364	137,170	14,067	7,734	71,269
Rhode Island..	356,487	197,451	17,568,003	31.55	143,875				1,633,974	22,119,763	51,038	7,862	1,884	23,130
Total	2,124,665	813,151	\$92,180,966	\$31.37	506,974				\$10,270,763	\$67,422,107	188,208	21,929	9,618	94,399
Counties in South Carolina of area equal to Rhode Island & Connecticut.														
Charleston	183,235	636,495	\$5,903,220	\$7.20	25,208	54,775	\$26.85	\$21,310,000	\$896,904	\$2,787,760	56,419	61	3,082	1,196
Georgetown ...	49,609	318,514	6,704,920	15.49	2,103	18,253	19.83	7,301,200	1,104,685	68,619	4,516		281	170
Williamsburg ..	70,390	492,440	861,538	1.71	3,902	8,508	6.11	3,403,200	223,740	12,825			none.	378
Horry	33,664	472,971	385,840	.76	5,522	2,075	1.69	830,000	160,640	154,084			"	488
Marion	124,306	632,342	2,680,544	8.45	9,781	7,520	3.87	3,006,000	377,826	40,624			50	380
Total	461,172	2,512,762	\$15,536,062	\$5.19	46,006	91,131	\$12.17	\$96,452,400	\$2,703,756	\$8,044,412	60,935	61	3,413	2,552

adding to the value of the lands the whole value of the slaves in this most intensely slave portion of the Union, at the rate of \$400 for each slave. The value of the agricultural products of Connecticut and Rhode Island is four times as great as that of those of this portion of Carolina, although the latter has the monopoly almost of the rice-producing region. Of the value of the Carolina products, one-third is cotton; and here is the place to say, that it is owing to the invention of a Massachusetts man that the South is able to raise its cotton at all at this time. If the South had been obliged to clean cotton by hand, at the rate of a pound a day for each slave, as before the invention of Whitney, the whole cotton-producing region would have been bankrupt. The treatment which the Northern inventor received at the hands of those Southrons, whose fortunes he had made, is a sad portion of history. Before his patent was obtained, a mob of the chivalry (who despise so heartily and magnificently a money-making, peddling Yankee) broke open the building in which his machine was placed, carried off the machine, and made others from it; and, before he could go through the formalities of getting his patent, several machines were in successful operation on the plantations of different gentlemen. In the Georgia courts, Whitney's rights were decided against, on the ground mainly that, as "the introduction of the gin would open up boundless resources of wealth to the planters, it was too great a power to allow any one man a monopoly of the right to furnish the machines." South Carolina agreed to pay \$50,000 for the invention, paid \$20,000 down, then repudiated the contract, sued Whitney and his partner for the money paid, and cast the latter into prison. Afterwards, this action was reversed and the contract fulfilled. The action of Tennessee was similar to that of South Carolina, without the repentance. North Carolina did better, and was faithful to its contract. After years of litigation, Whitney got a decision in his favor in the United States Court; but meantime his patent was nearly out, and his application for a renewal was denied by the votes of those whose fortunes he had made. In Georgia, in the courts,

witnesses, judges, and juries gave way, in spite of law and evidence, before the rapacity of the planters. "In one instance," says Whitney, "I had great difficulty in proving that the machine had been used in Georgia, although at the same moment there were three separate sets of this machinery in motion within fifty yards of the building in which the court sat, and all so near that the rattling of the wheels was distinctly heard on the steps of the court-house."

To return to table XIV. In manufactures, the North has more than twenty times; in tonnage owned in 1855, three times; and in tonnage built in the same year, three hundred and fifty times as much as the South. The "tonnage built" in 1855, in South Carolina, consisted of one schooner of sixty-one tons burden. This is since the sitting of several Southern conventions, in which they resolved to have an extensive commerce of their own, not only with Europe, but with Brazil and Central America. As to education, the New England figures are twenty times as large as those of Carolina.

Table XV. is a comparison between Massachusetts and an equal extent of territory in Virginia. The portion of Virginia taken is the southeastern, from the Atlantic to the mountains. It includes Norfolk, the commercial capital of Virginia, and the land taken is naturally as good as that of other parts of the State, and much better than the lands in Massachusetts. The age of the two sections is about the same. As compared with Virginia, the white population in Massachusetts is ten times as great, and five times as great as its total white and slave. Her lands are worth nearly six times as much per acre, and almost twice as much as the lands and slaves of the Virginia counties added together, although they constitute the most dense slave section of the State (the slaves being worth twice as much as the lands and buildings). The agricultural products of Massachusetts, at De Bow's prices, are nearly double those of the Virginia counties, while her manufacturing products are more than forty times as great, and eight times as much in a single year as the whole value of this great portion of Virginia, including

TABLE XV.

A Statement of the Number of Acres in Farms, Value of the same per acre, White and Slave Population, Value of Slaves, Value of Agricultural and Manufacturing Products, Tonnage owned, and built in 1855, Pupils in Colleges, &c., and Number of Scholars in the Public Schools, in the State of Massachusetts, and an equal area in Virginia.

Counties in Virginia of area equal to the State of Massachusetts.	Acres of Improved Land in 1850.	Acres of Unimproved Land in 1850.	Cash value of Farms in 1850.	Cash Value of Farms per acre in 1850.	White Population in 1850.	Slaves in 1850.	Value of Slaves per Acre at \$400 per Slave.	Value of Slaves at \$400 per Slave.	Value of Agricultural Products in 1850, according to De Bow.	Value of Manufactures, 1850.	Tonnage Owned June 30, 1855.	Amount of Tonnage Built in 1855.	Pupils in Colleges, Academies, and Private Schools, 1850.	Scholars in the Public Schools in 1850.
Patrick.....	38,192	184,034	\$734,771	\$8.31	7,187	2,324	\$4.18	\$299,400	\$248,325	\$140,172			none.	826
Henry.....	61,530	96,469	820,070	5.19	5,324	3,240	8.45	1,335,000	258,525	169,556			"	1,301
Pittsylvania.....	210,580	800,245	2,850,908	5.58	15,268	12,738	10.02	5,119,200	925,141	878,690			142	467
Halifax.....	242,758	202,291	3,420,990	7.68	10,976	14,452	12.98	5,780,800	1,128,810	287,696			none.	268
Mecklenburg.....	215,646	179,188	2,585,628	5.12	7,256	12,492	10.07	4,984,800	831,248	226,554			289	574
Brunswick.....	177,196	117,702	1,097,948	3.68	4,855	8,456	11.46	3,882,400	524,157	44,941			86	186
Greenville.....	74,906	82,065	427,173	2.72	1,731	3,785	9.64	1,514,000	198,836	17,541			30	95
Suwanee.....	61,408	98,677	600,096	3.15	3,086	5,922	12.60	2,306,800	328,892	80,133			14	235
Southampton.....	159,698	176,023	1,068,103	3.28	5,940	5,755	7.06	2,302,000	456,902	36,000			68	288
Nansemond.....	62,208	117,968	1,717,090	9.52	5,424	4,715	10.46	1,895,000	355,955	108,751			174	268
Norfolk.....	39,014	75,866	1,262,031	10.89	20,329	10,400	36.21	4,160,000	297,209	1,412,594	35,051	2,171	363	1,923
Princess Anne.....	50,064	63,175	1,110,673	8.67	4,280	3,120	11.05	1,252,000	257,835	83,337			none.	819
Ile of Wight.....	65,925	92,901	982,939	6.18	2,305	3,895	8.55	1,358,000	257,046	58,432			56	149
Surry.....	44,298	65,466	562,032	5.12	2,315	2,479	8.95	961,600	158,347	19,348			39	150
Total.....	1,653,522	1,832,056	\$19,080,472	\$5.64	98,006	93,489	\$11.04	\$37,363,200	\$6,224,329	\$3,504,885	35,051	2,171	1,202	7,892
Massachusetts	2,133,436	1,222,576	\$108,076,947	\$32.50	985,450				\$11,003,887	\$151,342,478	370,727	79,620	14,479	176,475

Table XVI. is a comparison between the counties of Norfolk and Plymouth in Massachusetts, and the counties of Westmoreland and James City in Virginia, as to population, education, agriculture, etc.

James City Co. is the county in which are situated Jamestown, the Plymouth of Virginia, and William and Mary's College, the rival in age of Harvard University. Jamestown now contains two houses, and of William and Mary's College it is said that it seldom has more than forty students (the Census Compendium gives it thirty-five in 1850). Westmoreland Co. is the native county of Washington. Of the Massachusetts counties, Norfolk is the county of the Adamses, and Plymouth that of the Pilgrim settlement.

VALUE OF LAND IN NORTHERN AND SOUTHERN COUNTIES.

The value of land per acre in some of the counties in the South, where there is the largest proportion of slaves, is as follows, viz:

Charles Co., Maryland (whites 5,665; slaves 9,584), \$10.50.

Amelia Co., Virginia (whites, 2,785; slaves, 6,819), \$7.60.

Beaufort, Colleton, and Georgetown Co.'s, South Carolina (whites, 14,915; slaves, 71,904), \$7.30.

The value of land per acre in some Northern counties is as follows, viz: Hudson Co., New Jersey, \$178; Delaware Co., Pennsylvania, \$86.

No more tables will be given in the department of agriculture. Some further comparisons and illustrations are given.

Virginia, free, and as thickly settled as Massachusetts, would have had, in 1850, 7,751,324 whites instead of 894,800.

Massachusetts, a slave State, and as thinly populated as Virginia, would have had in 1850, 102,351 white inhabitants instead of 985,450.

Virginia, free, would have had an annual product of manufactures amounting to \$1,190,072,592. instead of \$29,705,887.

Massachusetts, a slave State, would have had manufactures amounting to \$3,776,601, instead of \$151,137,145.

Virginia, free, would have been worth in real and personal property (on the basis of the census estimate), \$4,333,525,367, instead of (value of slaves deducted) \$203,635,238.

Massachusetts, a slave State, would have been worth \$48,604,335 instead of \$551,106,824.

Boston, with slavery, according to the increase of population in Virginia, would have contained 3,489 people instead of 136,881. In the whole South there are less than fifty cities with a population of 3,500.

Richmond, Virginia, free, according to the increase of population in Massachusetts, would have contained 1,076,669 free people instead of 17,643.

If Virginia had not a settler within her territory, and should be opened at once to free settlement, in ten years she would have nearly as many white inhabitants as she now has, two hundred and fifty years after her settlement, and in twenty years she would have nearly as many whites as the whole number of slaveholding States now have, provided 60,000 settlers should go in the first year, and that the rate of increase should be as great as that of Wisconsin, Iowa, or Minnesota. Even with this population of twenty years, she would not be so densely peopled as Massachusetts was in 1850. The figures prove our statements: thus, Wisconsin had, in 1840, 30,749 whites; in 1850, 304,756. Ratio of increase 89.11 per cent. Assume 60,000 whites in Virginia at the close of the first year, and the rate of increase as above, then in ten years she would have 594,660 white inhabitants, and in twenty years 5,793,475. Number of whites in Virginia in 1850, 894,800; in the slaveholding States, 6,184,477. Thus, as to population, slavery in two hundred and fifty years has done the work of twenty. As to the value of lands, it has done still worse. Thus, in little more than ten years, Wisconsin had brought up the value of

her farms per acre to \$9.54; Virginia in two hundred and fifty years had barely raised the price of her lands to \$8.27.

We give below, from different authorities, the past and present condition of the lands of the Free and Slave States.

"New England" (says "A perfect description of Virginia," published in London in 1649) "is in a good condition of livelihood; but for matter of any great hope but fishing there is not much." Compared to Virginia, "it's as Scotland is to England, so much difference, and lies upon the same land northward as Scotland does to England; there is much cold, frost, and snow; their land is barren, except a herring be put into the hole you set the corn in, it will not come up; and it was a great pity all those planters, now about 20,000, did not seat themselves at first at the south of Virginia, in a warm and rich country, where their industry could have produced sugar, indigo, ginger, cotton, and the like commodities."

Said Sir Thomas Dale, in 1612, speaking of Virginia, "Take four of the best kingdoms in Christendom, and put them all together, they may no way compare with this country either for commodities or goodness of soil."

Says Beverley at a later period: "In extreme fruitfulness, it (Virginia) is exceeded by no other. No seed is sown there but it thrives, and most of the northern plants are improved by being transplanted thither."

Says Lane, the Governor of Raleigh colony, in 1585, speaking of Virginia and Carolina: "It is the goodliest soil under the cope of heaven, the most pleasing territory of the world. The climate is so wholesome that we have not one sick since we touched the land. If Virginia had but horses and kine, and were inhabited with English, no realm in Christendom were comparable to it."

Such was the country which slavery took two hundred years ago: and any quantity of testimony to its fertility could be quoted. Mark the change which slavery has made.

Says Washington (letter to Arthur Young, Nov. 1, 1787),

"Our lands, as I mentioned to you, were originally very good, but use and abuse have made them quite otherwise."

Says Olmsted (*Seaboard Slave States*, pages 63 and 65), speaking of the lands, stock, and vehicles of a certain locality in eastern Virginia in 1855: "Oldfields' — a coarse, yellow, sandy soil, bearing scarce anything but pine trees and broom-sedge. In some places, for acres, the pines would not be above five feet high — that was land that had been in cultivation, used up, and 'turned out' not more than six or eight years before; then there were patches of every age; sometimes the trees were a hundred feet high. At long intervals there were fields in which the pine was just beginning to spring in beautiful green plumes from the ground, and was yet hardly noticeable among the dead brown grass and sassafras bushes and blackberry vines, which nature first sends to hide the nakedness of the impoverished earth.

"Of living creatures, for miles, not one was to be seen (not even a crow or a snow-bird), except hogs. These — long, lank, snake-headed, hairy, wild beasts — would come dashing across our path, in packs of from three to a dozen, with short hasty grunts, almost always at a gallop, and looking neither to the right nor left, as if they were in pursuit of a fox, and were quite certain to catch him in the next hundred yards." (Number of swine in Virginia in 1850, 1,829,843.)

"We turned the corner, following some slight traces of a road, and shortly afterwards met a curious vehicular establishment, probably belonging to the master of the hounds. It consisted of an axle-tree and wheels, and a pair of shafts, made of unbarked saplings, in which was harnessed, by attachments of raw-hide and rope, a single small ox. There was a bit made of telegraph wire in his mouth, by which he was guided, through the mediation of a pair of much knotted rope-reins, by a white man — a dignified sovereign wearing a brimless crown — who sat upon a two-bushel sack (of meal, I hope, for the hounds' sake), balanced upon the axle-tree; and who saluted

me with a frank 'How are you?' as we came opposite each other."

Said Henry A. Wise, in 1855, during his canvass for Governor, speaking to the Virginians: "You all own plenty of land, but it is poverty added to poverty. Poor land added to poor land, and nothing added to nothing makes nothing; while the owner is talking politics at Richmond, or in Congress, or spending the summer at the White Springs, the lands grow poorer and poorer, and this soon brings land, negroes, and all, under the hammer. You have the owners skinning the negroes, and the negroes skinning the land, until all grow poor together.

"You have relied alone on the single power of agriculture, and such agriculture! Your sedge-patches outshine the sun; your inattention to your only source of wealth has scared the bosom of mother Earth. Instead of having to feed cattle on a thousand hills, you have to chase the stump-tailed steer through the sedge-patches to procure a tough beef-steak." (Number of neat cattle in Virginia, in 1850, 1,076,269.)

"I have heard a story — I will not locate it here or there — about the condition of the prosperity of our agriculture. I was told by a gentleman in Washington, not long ago, that he was travelling in a county not a hundred miles from this place, and overtook one of our citizens on horseback, with perhaps, a bag of hay for a saddle, without stirrups, and the leading line for a bridle, and he said, 'Stranger, whose house is that?' 'It is mine,' was the reply. They came to another. 'Whose house is that?' 'Mine, too, stranger.' To a third, 'And whose house is that?' 'That's mine, too, stranger; but don't suppose I'm so darned poor as to own all the *land* about here.'"

Wise was speaking at Alexandria, in Fairfax Co., the county of Mount Vernon, and the farm of Washington. In certain parts, this county has been wonderfully improved by Northern emigrants, who have purchased lands and applied free labor and skill to them. So much have they improved their

portion, that the Patent Office Report says, "A traveller who passed over it ten years ago would not now recognize it."

Says the Hon. Willoughby Newton, of Virginia, in his agricultural address, in 1850: "I look upon the introduction of *guano*, and the success attending its application to our barren lands, in the light of a *special interposition of Divine Providence*, to save the northern neck of Virginia from reverting into its former state of wilderness and utter desolation. Until the discovery of *guano* — more valuable to us than the mines of California — I looked upon the possibility of renovating our soil, of ever bringing it to a point capable of producing remunerating crops, as utterly hopeless." Is Virginia to be saved by *guano*? Mr. Newton recommends the application of two hundred pounds per acre. Number of acres of land under cultivation in Virginia in 1850, 26,152,311. Amount of *guano* requisite to cover this land, at the rate of two hundred pounds per acre, 2,615,231 tons. This, at \$50 per ton, would cost \$130,761,550. *Guano* must be applied every other year. This would give the annual amount 1,307,615 tons, and the annual cost \$65,380,775. Where is the money to pay this annual tax to come from? How long would it take the permanent registered tonnage of Virginia (9,246 tons in 1855) to import enough for one year's use? And then the spectacle of this magnificent fleet (of eighteen vessels of five hundred tons, or thirty of three hundred), officered by the chivalry, and manned by slaves, toting bird-manure around Cape Horn, in quantities enough to cover the worn-out surface of the Old Dominion!

Of North Carolina, the Patent Office Report for 1851 says (communication of G. S. Sullivan, of Lincoln Co.), "We raise no stock of any kind except for home consumption, and not half enough of that; for we have now worn out our lands so much, that we do not grow food enough to maintain them."

Of Alabama (communication of N. B. Powell): "We are

the most dependent people in the Union, rely mainly, as we do, upon our neighbors of the West for nearly all our supplies."

Says Olmsted (page 475) of the threshing of rice in South Carolina: "Threshing commences immediately after harvest, and on many plantations proceeds very tediously, in the old way of threshing wheat with flails by hand, occupying the best of the plantation force for the most of the winter. It is done on an earthen floor in the open air, and the rice is cleaned by carrying it on the heads of the negroes, by a ladder, up on to a platform, twenty feet from the ground, and pouring it slowly down, so that the wind will drive off the chaff, and leave the grain in a heap under the platform." Threshing machines have, however, been introduced on some large plantations.

Of Alabama, says Hon. C. C. Clay, Jr., a politician and leading man, in an address in 1855: "I can show you, with sorrow, in the older portions of Alabama, and in my native county of Madison, the sad memorials of the artless and exhausting culture of cotton. Our small planters, after taking the cream off their lands, unable to restore them by rest, manures, or otherwise, are going farther west and south, in search of other virgin lands, which they may and will despoil and impoverish in like manner."

"In 1825, Madison county cast about 3,000 votes; now she cannot cast exceeding 2,300. In traversing that county, one will discover numerous farm-houses, once the abode of industrious and intelligent freemen, now occupied by slaves, or tenantless, deserted, and dilapidated; he will observe fields, once fertile, now unfenced, abandoned, and covered with those evil harbingers—fox-tail and broom-sedge; he will see the moss growing on the mouldering walls of once thrifty villages; and will find 'one only master grasps the whole domain' that once furnished happy homes for a dozen white families. Indeed, a county in its infancy, where fifty years ago scarce a forest tree had been felled by the axe of the pioneer, is already exhibiting the painful signs of senility and decay, apparent in

Virginia and the Carolinas ; the freshness of its agricultural glory is gone ; the vigor of its youth is extinct, and the spirit of desolation seems brooding over it."

Enough of these extracts to show the blight of slavery in the department of agriculture ; no extracts are needed to show that the farms in the Free States increase in value with every succeeding year. It is not now necessary "that a herring be put into the hole" with corn, "or it will not come up."

CHAPTER V.

MANUFACTURES.

THE tables in this chapter, compiled—when no other authority is given—from the Compendium of the Census of 1850, show the state of manufactures in the United States for the year ending June, 1850. The tables for 1850 are preceded by tables (from the annual Report of the Secretary of the Treasury on the Finances, for 1855) giving the population, and value of the manufactures, of the several Free and Slave States for the years 1820 and 1840. The returns for 1820 were defective in some particulars, and the article of sugar is included among the manufactures for 1840.

TABLE XVII.

Population and Value of Manufactures in the Free States, for the years 1820 and 1840.

FREE STATES.	Population in 1820.	Population in 1840.	Value of Manufactures for 1820.	Value of Manufactures for 1840.
Connecticut	275,202	309,978	\$2,413,029	\$21,057,523
Illinois	55,211	476,183	100,983	8,021,582
Indiana	147,178	685,866	397,814	9,379,586
Iowa		43,112		483,700
Maine.....	298,335	501,793	486,473	14,525,217
Massachusetts	523,287	737,699	2,523,614	73,777,837
Michigan.....	8,896	212,267	100,460	3,898,676
New Hampshire....	244,161	284,574	747,959	10,523,313
New Jersey.....	277,575	373,306	1,175,139	19,571,496
New York.....	1,372,812	2,428,921	9,792,072	95,840,194
Ohio	581,434	1,519,467	5,290,427	31,458,401
Pennsylvania.....	1,049,458	1,724,033	6,895,219	64,494,960
Rhode Island.....	83,059	108,830	1,617,221	13,807,297
Vermont	235,764	291,948	890,353	6,923,982
Wisconsin.....		30,945		1,680,808
Total	5,152,372	9,698,922	\$32,430,763	\$375,444,572

TABLE XVIII.

Population and Value of Manufactures in the Slave States, for the years 1820 and 1840.

SLAVE STATES.	Population in 1820.	Population in 1840.	Value of Manufactures for 1820.	Value of Manufactures for 1840.
Alabama	127,901	590,756	\$101,207	\$4,975,871
Arkansas	14,273	97,574	56,408	2,614,888
Delaware	72,749	78,085	1,318,891	2,709,068
Florida		54,477		915,080
Georgia	340,987	691,392	607,751	5,324,307
Kentucky	564,317	779,828	2,296,726	13,221,958
Louisiana	153,407	352,411	272,500	11,378,383
Maryland	407,350	470,019	5,027,336	13,509,636
Mississippi	75,448	375,651	none.	3,562,370
Missouri	66,586	383,702	297,443	5,946,759
North Carolina ...	638,829	753,419	445,398	7,234,567
South Carolina ...	502,741	359,000	168,666	5,638,823
Tennessee	422,813	829,210	2,352,127	8,517,394
Virginia	1,065,379	1,239,797	6,686,699	20,684,608
Total	4,452,780	7,055,321	\$19,631,152	\$106,233,713

Taking tables XX. and XIX. without the modifications suggested hereafter, and the relation of the North and South to manufactures in 1850, was as follows, viz:

	In the North.	In the South.
Capital invested in manufactures.....	\$430,240,051	\$ 95,029,879
Value of raw material used.....	465,844,092	86,190,639
Number of hands employed, males...	576,954	140,377
“ “ “ females .	203,622	21,360
Annual wages	195,976,453	33,257,560
“ products.....	842,586,058	165,413,027
“ profit	376,741,966	79,222,388
“ profit per cent.....	42	44
“ wages per hand, males and females.....	251	206
“ product “ “ “	1,079	1,029
“ profit “ “ “	484	489

From this aggregate of Southern manufactures should be deducted the manufactures of certain counties where there is a large or predominating free population born out of the limits of

TABLE XIX.

A Statement of the Number of Individuals and Establishments engaged in Manufactures, the Amount of Capital invested in such Establishments, the Value of the Raw Material used, the Number of Hands employed, the Annual Wages paid, the Annual Product and the Annual Profit of such Manufactures, in the several Free States, according to the Census Returns of 1850.

FREE STATES.	Number of Individuals and Estab- lishments.	Capital.	Value of Raw Material used.	Hands Employed.		Annual Wages.	Annual Product.	Annual Profit, according to De Bow.
				Male.	Female.			
California.....	1,003	\$1,006,197	\$1,201,154	3,964		\$3,485,890	\$12,862,522	\$11,661,368
Connecticut	3,482	23,890,348	23,589,397	31,287	16,483	11,695,296	45,110,102	21,520,705
Illinois	3,164	6,385,387	8,915,173	11,632	433	3,826,249	17,236,073	8,320,900
Indiana	4,288	7,941,602	10,214,337	13,677	665	2,809,116	18,922,651	8,708,314
Iowa	522	1,292,875	2,356,881	1,687	20	473,016	3,551,783	1,194,902
Maine	3,977	14,700,452	13,555,806	21,856	6,222	7,502,916	24,664,135	11,108,329
Massachusetts	8,259	83,357,642	85,856,771	96,261	69,577	39,784,116	151,137,145	65,280,374
Michigan	1,963	6,534,250	6,105,561	8,930	360	2,387,928	10,976,894	4,871,333
New Hampshire	3,211	18,242,114	12,745,466	14,103	12,989	6,123,876	23,164,503	10,419,037
New Jersey.....	4,108	22,184,730	21,992,186	28,549	8,762	9,202,788	39,713,586	17,721,400
New York	23,553	99,904,405	134,655,674	147,737	51,612	49,131,000	237,597,249	102,941,575
Ohio	10,622	29,019,538	34,677,937	47,054	4,435	13,467,660	62,647,259	27,969,322
Pennsylvania.....	21,605	94,473,810	87,906,377	124,688	22,078	37,163,282	155,044,910	67,838,533
Rhode Island	853	12,923,176	13,183,889	12,837	8,044	5,008,656	22,093,258	8,909,369
Vermont	1,849	5,001,377	4,172,552	6,894	1,551	2,202,348	8,570,920	4,398,368
Wisconsin.....	1,262	3,382,148	5,414,931	5,798	291	1,712,496	9,293,068	3,878,137
Total	93,721	\$430,240,051	\$465,844,092	576,954	203,622	\$195,976,453	\$842,586,058	\$376,741,966

TABLE XX.

A Statement of the Number of Individuals and Establishments engaged in Manufactures, the Amount of Capital invested in such Establishments, the Value of the Raw Material used, the Number of Hands employed, the Annual Wages paid, the Annual Product and the Annual Profit of such Manufactures, in the several Slave States, according to the Census Returns of 1850.

SLAVE STATES.	Number of Individuals and Establish- ments.	Capital.	Value of Raw Material used.	Hands Employed.		Annual Wages.	Annual Product.	Annual Profit, according to De Bow.
				Male.	Female.			
Alabama	1,026	\$3,450,506	\$2,224,960	4,399	539	\$1,106,112	\$4,538,878	\$2,313,918
Arkansas	272	324,065	268,564	873	30	169,356	607,436	338,872
Delaware	531	2,978,945	2,864,607	3,227	651	936,924	4,649,296	1,784,889
Florida	103	547,060	220,611	876	115	199,452	668,335	447,724
Georgia	1,527	5,460,483	3,404,917	6,660	1,718	1,712,304	7,086,525	3,681,608
Kentucky	3,609	12,350,734	12,170,225	22,445	1,940	4,764,096	24,588,483	12,418,958
Louisiana	1,017	5,318,074	2,958,988	5,581	856	2,086,212	7,320,948	4,361,960
Maryland	3,708	14,753,143	17,326,734	22,641	7,483	7,374,672	32,477,702	15,140,968
Mississippi	877	1,833,420	1,290,271	3,065	108	775,128	2,972,038	1,682,767
Missouri	8,029	9,079,695	12,446,738	15,997	873	3,184,764	23,749,265	11,302,527
North Carolina	2,604	7,232,225	4,805,463	10,693	1,751	1,796,748	9,111,245	4,305,782
South Carolina	1,431	6,056,865	2,809,534	5,935	1,074	1,128,432	7,063,513	4,253,979
Tennessee	2,861	6,975,279	4,900,952	11,154	878	2,277,228	9,728,438	4,827,486
Texas	309	539,290	394,642	1,042	24	322,368	1,165,538	770,896
Virginia	4,741	18,109,993	18,103,433	25,789	3,320	5,413,764	29,705,387	11,601,954
Total	27,645	\$95,029,879	\$86,190,639	140,377	21,360	\$83,257,560	\$165,413,027	\$79,222,388

the several States in which the counties are situated. The amount of the manufactures, and the character of the population, as regards birth, of the most important of these counties, is shown in the following table. Even this deduction leaves too large a balance for Southern manufactures, proper, for everywhere throughout the South the most thriving manufactures were founded, or are sustained, by Northern capital, skill, or labor.

TABLE XXI.

A Statement of the Number of Free Inhabitants born within and without certain Counties of the Slave States, in which there is a large or predominating exotic Population, with the Amount of Capital invested in Manufacture, Number of Hands Employed, and the Annual Product thereof in 1850.

COUNTIES.	Free Popula- tion born out of the State in which each Co. is situated.	Do. born in the State.	Capital.	Hands Em- ployed.	Annual Product.
Newcastle, Del.....	13,801	28,555	\$2,593,830	3,235	\$3,945,399
Baltimore, Md.....	61,472	142,456	9,929,332	23,863	24,540,014
Ohio, Va.....	9,020	8,822	1,184,111	2,493	2,401,424
Charleston, S. C.....	7,844	21,225	1,487,800	1,413	2,749,961
Muscogee, Geo.....	2,589	7,838	713,217	719	738,580
Richmond, Geo.....	3,252	5,133	775,600	995	1,020,651
Mobile, Ala.....	10,379	7,865	522,800	540	1,261,450
Orleans, La.....	68,525	32,867	2,969,660	3,134	4,470,454
Galveston, Texas.....	2,907	908	46,450	131	207,100
Davidson, Tenn.....	7,716	16,991	855,015	1,219	1,075,287
Shelby, Tenn.....	9,077	7,720	424,130	789	840,789
Jefferson, Ky.....	30,174	18,746	4,115,582	8,865	11,002,103
St. Louis, Mo.....	71,617	27,394	5,215,716	10,239	16,046,521
Total	298,373	326,565	\$30,833,143	57,636	\$70,296,743

This table includes the counties in which are situated the cities of Baltimore, Wheeling, Louisville, St. Louis, New Orleans, Mobile, Charleston, and some others. It will be seen that, in these counties, the free population born within and without the limits of each State, respectively, is nearly equal. The manufacturing establishments in these counties are generally confined to their cities, and a table showing the origin of the free population of the cities only, would give

a large preponderance of persons born without the limits of their respective States. The means of constructing such a table are not accessible. There are, besides, other counties of smaller size which should be included with those in the foregoing table. These are necessarily omitted.

Deducting the aggregates of this table from the total manufactures reported for the South, and there are left for the manufactures of the Slave States,

Capital, ...	\$64,196,736
Hands employed, males and females, ...	104,101
Annual product, ...	\$95,116,284
Annual product per head, ...	914

Adding the aggregates of table XXI. to those reported above for the manufactures of the North, and the total manufactures of the free population of the United States, will be :

Capital, ...	\$461,073,194
Hands employed, males and females, ...	838,212
Annual product, ...	\$912,882,801
Annual product per head, ...	1,089

Further amendment of these aggregates should be made by adding for California—in which State the marshal's returns for 1850 were generally defective, and for the most important localities lost or destroyed by fire—the following estimates, based on the returns of the State census for that State, taken in 1852, and ordered by Congress to be made a part of the National census, viz :

Capital, ...	\$5,942,526
Annual product, ...	30,000,000

The true total, then, of the manufactures of the free population of the United States for 1850 will be :

Capital invested, ...	\$467,015,720
Hands employed, males and females, ...	838,212
Annual product, ...	\$942,882,801

Thus, then, in seven times the capital invested, in eight

times the number of hands employed, in ten times the annual product, is the triumph of freedom over slavery seen in the department of manufactures. And this, after allowing to slavery millions of the capital of the North, thousands of its intelligent mechanics and operatives, and hundreds of its inventions and improvements, scattered throughout the South, wherever machinery is in motion, or labor skillfully applied to it. And this stagnation and sleep of slavery beneath the thundering of its thousands of waterfalls, and beside its millions of cotton bales.

Well did Governor Wise say to the Virginians: "You have the line of the Alleghanies, that beautiful ridge which stands placed there by the Almighty, not to obstruct the way of people to market, but placed there in the very bounty of Providence, to milk the clouds, to make the sweet springs which are the sources of your rivers. And at the head of every stream is the waterfall, murmuring the very music of your power. And yet commerce has long ago spread her sails and sailed away from you; you have not as yet dug more than coal enough to warm yourselves at your own hearths; you have no tilt-hammer of Vulcan, to strike blows worthy of gods in the iron foundries. You have not yet spun more than coarse cotton enough to clothe your own slaves. You have had no commerce, no mining, no manufactures." (Speech at Alexandria, 1855.)

Table XXII. contains a list of those counties in the Free and Slave States which had, in 1850, the greatest relative amount of manufactures. The areas given are from Baldwin and Thomas' Gazetteer of 1854; the value of the land is ascertained by dividing the value given in the Census Compendium by the whole area. The Southern counties taken are such as have no large admixture of exotic population. In these counties are included the important cities of Wilmington, N. C., Lynchburg, Va., and Clarksville, Tenn.

TABLE XXII.

Counties in the Free and Slave States which had, in 1850, the greatest relative Amount of Manufactures.

Counties in Free States.	Area in Square Miles.	Population.	Value of Farms.	Annual Product of Manufactories.	Value of Land per Acre.	Average Product of Manufactures per head of whole population.
Bristol, Mass....	517	76,192	\$7,101,582	\$12,595,695	\$21.46	\$165
Essex, Mass.....	500	181,300	9,582,992	22,906,805	29.95	174
Middlesex, Mass....	830	161,383	19,417,796	26,548,332	36.55	164
Norfolk, Mass.....	520	78,892	13,748,505	13,323,595	41.81	169
Kent, R. I.....	180	15,068	1,951,111	2,620,788	17.80	174
Hartford, Conn....	807	69,967	14,004,683	10,888,780	27.12	156
N. Haven, Conn....	620	65,588	10,413,662	11,283,816	26.24	172
Essex, N. J.....	450	73,950	7,219,566	16,293,198	25.07	220
Passaic, N. J.....	270	22,569	3,302,051	4,213,699	19.11	187
Total.....	4,684	694,909	\$86,741,948	\$120,675,308	\$28.94	\$174
Counties in Slave States.						
Campbell, Va....	576	23,245	\$2,452,604	\$1,839,807	\$6.65	\$79
N. Hanover, N.C....	1,000	17,668	1,035,874	1,409,568	1.62	80
McGomery, Ten....	550	21,045	1,359,886	1,376,300	3.86	65
Total.....	2,126	61,958	\$4,848,314	\$4,625,175	\$3.56	\$74

Tables XXIII. and XXIV. show the value of the manufactures of cotton, wool, iron, the fisheries, and salt, in 1850. It is to be regretted that the returns of the details of the other branches of manufactures have not yet been published by Congress. These tables will repay a careful examination.

Table XXV. gives the value of the domestic manufactures in the several Free and Slave States, for the year ending June, 1850; and gives also the annual increase of slaves in the several Slave States, with their value at \$400 per head. It is to be understood that a larger proportion of slaves is born in the slave-raising States, and a smaller in the slave-consuming States, than is shown by the tables. As to this product of Southern labor, or skill, or necessity—the annual slave product—it may be classed indifferently under the head of agriculture, manufactures, or commerce. As live

TABLE XXV.

A Statement of the Value of the Domestic Manufactures of the several Free and Slave States for the years 1850; with the average Annual Increase, and Value at \$400 per head, of Slaves, for the ten years ending June, 1850.

FREE STATES.	Value of Domestic Manufactures for 1850.	SLAVE STATES.	Value of Domestic Manufactures for 1850.	Annual Increase of Slaves from 1840 to 1850.	Value at \$400 per head.
California.....	\$7,000	Alabama.....	\$1,934,120	8,931	\$3,572,400
Connecticut....	192,252	Arkansas.....	988,217	2,717	1,086,800
Illinois.....	1,155,902	Delaware.....	88,121	31	12,400
Indiana.....	1,631,039	Florida.....	75,582	1,359	543,600
Iowa.....	221,292	Georgia.....	1,838,968	10,074	4,029,600
Maine.....	513,599	Kentucky.....	2,459,128	2,872	1,148,800
Massachusetts..	205,323	Louisiana.....	139,232	7,636	3,054,400
Michigan.....	340,947	Maryland.....	111,828	63	25,200
N. Hampshire..	398,455	Mississippi....	1,164,020	11,467	4,586,800
New Jersey....	112,781	Missouri.....	1,674,705	2,918	1,167,200
New York.....	1,280,333	North Carolina	2,086,522	4,273	1,709,200
Ohio.....	1,712,196	South Carolina	909,525	5,795	2,318,000
Pennsylvania..	749,132	Tennessee.....	3,137,790	5,640	2,256,000
Rhode Island..	26,495	Texas.....	266,984	5,816	2,326,400
Vermont.....	267,710	Virginia.....	2,156,312	2,344	937,600
Wisconsin.....	43,624	.....	.....	.....	.....
Total.....	\$8,853,090	Total.....	\$18,631,054	71,936	\$28,774,400

stock raised and fattened for market, it would seem to belong legitimately to the department of agriculture; as an article of trade, to commerce; but a better arrangement is to class it with domestic manufactures, that class of manufactures in which it will be seen that the South is ahead. In this work, then, the slave product is classed with domestic manufactures, and its value—no estimate having been made by De Bow—computed from the best authorities, will be included in the aggregates for that branch of manufactures. The number of slaves annually manufactured by the Northern Slave States for the Southern markets is given elsewhere as 25,000; their value at \$400 per head is \$10,000,000. This is a small estimate both as to number and value. As to the capital invested, the value of the raw material used, the number of hands employed, and the annual wages paid in this species of manufacture, the census tables give no information.

CHAPTER VI.

COMMERCE.

It is difficult to apportion the results of commerce to the several States. The statistics of the great branch of domestic or internal commerce are very incomplete; the returns of the minor branch of foreign or external commerce are more full. De Bow suggests that "half the agricultural products and all of the manufacturing are subjects of commerce, and that the whole commercial movement may be estimated at between \$1,500,000,000 and \$2,000,000,000" annually. Adopting this suggestion, the value of the products which enter into the commerce of the two sections, for 1850, would be as follows, viz :

Free States,	.	.	.	.	\$1,377,199,968
Slave States,	.	.	.	.	410,754,992
Total,	.	.	.	.	\$1,787,954,960

No enumeration, by States, of the persons engaged in commerce, trade, and navigation, is given in the Compendium of the Census of 1850. In 1840, however, such enumeration was made, and is found in the published census returns for that year. The number of persons engaged in commerce, navigating the ocean, and in internal navigation, was in 1840 as follows, viz :

Free States,	.	.	.	.	.	136,856
Slave States,	.	.	.	.	.	52,622
Total,	.	.	.	.	.	189,478

(70)

This would give, in 1850, as the number of persons engaged in commerce and navigation, —

Free States, ...	188,271
Slave States, ...	70,165
Total, ...	258,436

Domestic commerce is carried on by the enrolled and licensed tonnage (with the participation, in a small proportion, of the registered), by railroads, canals, and public roads. Of enrolled and licensed tonnage, there were in 1850, in the

Free States, ...	1,459,232 tons.
Slave States, ...	475,405 "

Total, ...	1,934,637 "
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Of railroads in operation in 1854, there were, miles, in the

Free States, ...	13,105
Slave States, ...	4,212

Total, ...	17,317
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Of canals, there were in 1854, miles, in the

Free States, ...	3,682
Slave States, ...	1,116

Total, ...	4,798
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There are no statistics of the miles of public roads in the two sections, or of the merchandise and produce transported over them.

We may be aided in forming an estimate of the amount of our domestic commerce, by the following tabular statements, from Andrews' report :

TABLE XXVI.
Lake and River Commerce.

1851.	Net.		Gross.	
	Tons.	Value.	Tons.	Value.
Lake Commerce.....	1,985,563	\$157,236,729	3,971,126	\$314,473,458
River Commerce.....	2,038,400	169,751,372	4,066,800	339,502,744
Aggregate.....	4,018,963	\$326,988,101	8,037,926	\$653,976,202

Coasting Trade, Canal and Railway Commerce.

Estimate of 1852.	Net.		Gross.	
	Tons.	Value.	Tons.	Value.
Coasting trade.....	20,897,490	\$1,659,519,686	40,794,980	\$3,319,039,372
Canal Commerce.....	9,000,000	594,000,000	18,000,000	1,188,000,000
Railway Commerce.....	5,407,500	540,750,000	10,815,000	1,081,500,000
Aggregate.....	34,804,990	\$2,794,269,686	69,609,980	\$1,588,539,372

It is estimated by Andrews that the number of tons of shipping engaged in the coasting trade is 2,039,749.

This is the amount of the "enrolled and licensed tonnage." In addition, considerable "registered tonnage" frequently enters the coasting trade between the Atlantic ports and those on the Gulf and the Pacific.

The "licensed tonnage" engaged in the lake commerce is 215,975 tons. The tonnage engaged in the river commerce is 169,450 tons. The foregoing figures are for the years 1851 and 1852.

In a late report of the Committee on Commerce, it is stated that, "The lake tonnage for 1855 was 345,000 tons, which, valued at \$45 per ton, is \$14,838,000. The present value of lake commerce (exclusive of the ports of Presque Isle and Mackinac, not reported) is \$608,310,320."

Our foreign commerce is carried on by the registered tonnage of the United States, and by the tonnage of other nations. The foreign tonnage which entered the ports of the United States, in 1851, was 1,939,091 tons; the American tonnage, 3,054,349 tons. De Bow says, of 1851, that the value of merchandise imported in "foreign vessels was \$52,563,083; in American vessels \$168,216,272." By this, it will be seen that something more than three-fourths of the value of our foreign commerce is carried on in American vessels. The registered tonnage of the two sections, in 1850 was, in the

Free States,	.	.	.	.	.	1,330,963 tons.
Slave States,	.	.	.	.	.	250,880 "
Total,	.	.	.	.	.	1,581,843 "

We may now approximate the truth in regard to the commerce of the two sections of our country in three ways.

First. Taking the value of the products which enter into commerce, we find the North has \$1,377,199,968; the South \$410,754,992, giving the North more than three to one.

Second. Taking the number of persons engaged in trade, and the North has 136,856 persons, the South 52,622 persons, giving the North nearly three to one, and this on the supposition that the average amount of business done by merchants in the South is as great as in the North.

Third. Taking the tonnage, miles of railroads, and canals: the North had, in 1850, 2,790,195 tons of registered, enrolled and licensed tonnage, the South 726,285 tons. (The amount of tonnage in 1855 was, in the North 4,252,615 tons, in the South 855,517 tons.) The North had in 1854, 13,105 miles of railroad in operation, the South 4,212 miles. The North had in the same year 3,682 miles of canals, the South 1,116 miles. This gives a ratio of something more than three to one in favor of the North. It may, we think, be fairly assumed that the amount of commerce and its profits in the two sections are quite four times as much in the North as in the South.

We have thus shown, from such data as could be obtained, the relative proportion of the domestic and foreign commerce of the Free and Slave States. Adopting the suggestion of De Bow (as to the value of the "commercial movement"), the domestic commerce of the United States, in 1850, was six times that of the foreign. The figures are as follows:

Value of manufactures and half of agricultural products, ...	\$1,787,954,960
Value of imports, ...	178,078,499
Total, ...	1,966,033,459
Total value of imports and exports, ...	329,896,631

Adopting the estimates of Andrews (Report on Lake Commerce), the domestic commerce of the United States, in 1851-2, was nearly eight times the foreign. The figures are as follows, viz:

Value of lake and river commerce, ...	\$326,988,101
Value of coasting trade, railway and canal commerce, ...	2,794,269,686
Value of imports, 1851, ...	216,224,932
Total, ...	3,337,482,719
Total value of imports and exports, 1851, ...	434,612,943

It is, perhaps, not far from right to call the domestic commerce of this country seven times the foreign.

Tables XXVII. and XXVIII. give the value of the exports and imports of the several Free and Slave States for 1850 and 1855; and the amount and value of tonnage owned and built in the same years. The tables are compiled from the annual report on commerce and navigation. The statistics of exports and imports show the *foreign commerce* of the several States. The aggregates for the two years given are —

Free States, ...	\$631,396,034
Slave States, ...	234,936,806

Total, ...	\$866,332,840
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being nearly three times as much in the North as in the South.

TABLE XXVIII.

A Statement of the Value of the Exports and Imports of the several Slave States for the years 1850 and 1855, and of the Tonnage owned in said States on the 30th of June, 1850 and 1855, and of the Tonnage built therein for the years ending June 30, 1850, and June 30, 1855, with the Value of said Tonnage.

SLAVE STATES.	Value of Exports for the year ending June 30, 1850.	Value of Imports for the year ending June 30, 1850.	Value of Exports for the year ending June 30, 1855.	Value of Imports for the year ending June 30, 1855.	Tonnage owned June 30, 1850.	Value at \$50 per ton.	Tonnage built for the year ending June 30, 1850.	Value at \$50 per ton.	Tonnage owned June 30, 1855.	Value at \$50 per ton.	Tonnage built for the year ending June 30, 1855.	Value at \$50 per ton.
Delaware			\$68,087	\$5,821	16,720	\$835,000	1,849	\$82,450	19,186	\$953,800	5,488	\$274,400
Maryland			10,395,984	7,788,949	193,087	9,654,350	15,065	798,250	294,805	11,740,250	22,534	1,126,700
Virginia			4,379,928	855,405	74,071	3,703,550	3,584	179,200	92,788	4,039,400	4,903	230,150
North Carolina			433,818	243,083	45,219	2,231,950	2,632	132,600	60,077	8,003,550	2,595	129,750
South Carolina			12,700,270	1,588,542	85,072	1,803,000	.....	.....	60,935	8,045,750	61	3,050
Georgia			7,543,519	273,716	21,690	1,084,500	684	84,200	29,595	1,475,250	195	9,750
Florida			1,403,594	45,698	11,273	563,650	80	4,000	14,895	741,750	275	13,750
Alabama			14,270,585	619,994	24,158	1,297,900	114	5,700	38,274	1,813,700	729	36,450
Louisiana			55,367,962	12,900,821	250,090	12,504,500	1,592	79,600	204,149	10,207,450	872	43,600
Mississippi				1,031	1,828	91,400	.....	.....	2,475	123,750	370	18,500
Tennessee					3,776	188,800	.....	.....	8,404	420,200	428	21,400
Missouri					20,908	1,446,400	1,354	67,700	60,592	3,029,600	5,084	254,200
Kentucky					14,820	741,000	6,461	323,050	22,680	1,134,000	9,401	470,050
Texas			916,961	392,568	4,573	228,650	106	5,300	8,812	440,000	324	16,200
Total	\$81,098,038	\$21,771,057	\$107,480,688	\$24,530,538	728,285	\$86,311,250	34,441	\$1,722,060	855,517	\$42,775,850	63,959	\$2,647,950

The tonnage of the two sections in 1855 was as follows, viz.

Free States, ...	4,252,615 tons.
Slave States, ...	855,517 "
Total, ...	5,108,132 "

being five times as much in the North as in the South.

The foreign commerce of New York alone, for 1855, was as follows, viz :

Exports, ...	\$118,731,238
Imports, ...	164,776,511
Total, ...	\$278,507,749

The foreign commerce of the Slave States for 1855 was as follows, viz :

Exports, ...	\$107,480,688
Imports, ...	24,586,528
Total, ...	\$132,067,216

This statement shows that the foreign commerce of New York, in 1855, was more than twice that of all the Slave States.

The tonnage of New York in 1855 was 1,404,221 tons.

The tonnage of the Slave States for the same year, ... 855,517 "

Or a little more than half that of the State of New York.

The foreign commerce of Massachusetts and South Carolina, for 1855, was as follows, viz :

MASSACHUSETTS.

Exports, ...	\$28,190,925
Imports, ...	45,113,774
Total, ...	\$73,304,699

SOUTH CAROLINA.

Exports, ...	\$12,700,250
Imports, ...	1,588,542

Total, ... \$14,288,792

The tonnage of Massachusetts, in 1855,
was 970,727 tons.

The tonnage of South Carolina for the
same year was 60,935 "

The tonnage built in Massachusetts, in 1855, was 79,670 tons, valued at \$3,983,500; the tonnage built in South Carolina in the same year, was 61 tons, valued at \$3,050.

It will be observed by Tables XXVII. and XXVIII. that the large States of Indiana, Tennessee, Kentucky, and Missouri have no foreign commerce, and that the States of New Hampshire, New Jersey, Mississippi, and Delaware have very little.

The tonnage built in 1855 was as follows, viz:

Free States, ...	528,844 tons.
Slave States, ...	52,959 "

Total, ... 581,803 "

The North, therefore, builds of tonnage ten times as much as the South. In 1855, the tonnage built in the State of Maine was more than four times that built in the South; Maine having built 215,905 tons, the Slave States 52,959 tons. Of the tonnage built in the South, more than four-fifths of it is built in ports where there is a large or predominating free population, born out of the limits of the States in which such ports are respectively situated, as in Baltimore, St. Louis, Louisville, Wheeling, etc. Making a proper deduction for this, and the amount of shipping annually built by the Slave States will not exceed 10,000 tons. Even this small amount is not the work of slaveholders, or slaves, or of the poor whites of the South, but of northern and foreign-born mechanics and ship carpenters. In case of a dissolution of the Union, and

hostilities between the North and South, the highest naval science would need to be called into requisition by the South, so to station this naval armament of sloops, schooners, and steamboats as to command her seven thousand miles of exposed sea and gulf-coast.

We close what we have to say on commerce, with the following extract from a letter of Mr. London, of Richmond, Va., to the Richmond Enquirer, and published in that paper early in 1854, just before the sitting of a Southern commercial convention at Charleston, S. C. He had been alluding to the sittings of other Southern commercial conventions at Memphis and elsewhere :

“ We have, since that time, appropriated millions of dollars to works of internal improvement ; some of us have embarked more largely in foreign trade ; but *there are not half a dozen vessels engaged in our own trade that are owned in Virginia, and I have been unable to find a vessel at Liverpool loading for Virginia, within three years, during the height of our busy season.* Every foot of railroad and every yard of canal constructed in the Southern States *is only so much added to the area of the influence of New York, and but binds you that much more securely to her bonds.* Instead of these immense improvements resulting in an enlargement of your foreign commerce, *it is but a contribution to your coasting trade,* and results in establishing the calculation as to how long it will take your shopkeepers to get the productions and importations of New York into your villages ; all else but this is not considered. As to any one of your improvements contributing to forward your own importations, *that is not thought of at all by your interior shopkeepers ; for, throughout the South, all merchants have disappeared, entirely and completely.*”

CHAPTER VII.

VALUE OF REAL AND PERSONAL ESTATE.

TABLES XXIX. and XXX. give the value of the real and personal estate of the several States in 1850, according to the published census returns; the true value of the same as estimated by the superintendent of the census; the value of the slaves in the Slave States at \$400 per head; and the value of the real and personal estate in 1856, as given by the Secretary of the Treasury in a communication to Congress at its late session. The estimate of \$400 per head for slaves is, perhaps, too low. With a single apparent exception, the value of slaves is included by the compiler of the census returns in the value of personal estate. The exception is the State of Louisiana, in which State the value of the slaves is included in the value of real estate. With reference to the estimates of Mr. Secretary Guthrie, for Texas, it is hardly probable that its taxable property has gone up, in five years, from \$55,362,340 to \$240,000,000, an increase of about \$200,000,000; while Iowa, which has increased in population since 1850 faster than any other State, is allowed an increase in taxable property of only \$86,285,362, and Wisconsin of only \$45,443,405. The valuation of Georgia is given by the secretary, not from the State valuation, but from an estimate of the governor of that State. The estimate for California is evidently too low, and is not according to any State valuation. In the case of Indiana, whose auditor, as quoted by Mr. Guthrie, says that a valuation at that time (November 24, 1855) would make the total taxables \$380,000,000, the secretary, in 1856, gives the sum of \$301,858,474, instead of the auditor's estimate,

TABLE XXIX.

A Statement of the Value of the Real and Personal Estate of the several Free States, and the True Value of the same in 1850; with the Value of the Real and Personal Estate of said States in 1856.

FREE STATES.	Value of Real Estate. 1850.	Value of Personal Estate. 1850.	Total Value of Real and Personal Estate. 1850.	True Value of Real and Personal Estate, as given in Census Compendium. 1850.	Value of Real and Personal Estate, as given by Secretary of Treasury. 1856.
California	\$16,347,442	\$5,575,731	\$21,923,173	\$22,161,872	\$165,000,000
Connecticut	96,412,947	22,675,725	119,088,672	155,707,980	203,756,831
Illinois	81,524,835	33,257,810	114,782,645	156,265,006	333,237,474
Indiana	112,947,740	39,922,659	152,870,399	202,650,264	301,858,474
Iowa	15,672,332	6,018,310	21,690,642	23,714,638	110,000,000
Maine	64,336,119	32,463,434	96,799,553	122,777,571	131,128,186
Massachusetts	349,129,932	201,976,892	551,106,824	573,342,286	597,936,995
Michigan	25,580,371	5,296,852	30,877,223	59,787,255	116,593,580
New Hampshire	67,839,108	27,412,488	95,251,596	103,652,835	103,804,327
New Jersey	153,151,619	not returned.	153,151,619	153,151,619	179,780,000
New York	564,649,649	150,719,379	715,369,028	1,080,309,216	1,364,154,625
Ohio	337,521,075	96,351,557	433,872,632	504,736,120	860,877,354
Pennsylvania	427,865,660	72,410,191	500,275,851	729,144,998	1,031,731,304
Rhode Island	54,358,231	23,400,743	77,758,974	80,508,794	91,699,850
Vermont	57,320,369	15,660,114	72,980,483	92,205,049	91,165,680
Wisconsin	22,458,442	4,257,083	26,715,525	42,056,595	87,500,000
Total	\$2,447,115,871	\$737,398,768	\$3,184,514,639	\$4,102,162,198	\$5,770,194,680

TABLE XXX.

A Statement of the Value of the Real and Personal Estate in 1850, of the True Value of the same, of the Value of the Slaves, of the True Value of the Real and Personal Estate, deducting the Value of the Slaves, with the Value of the Real and Personal Estate (including Slaves) for 1856, of the several Slave States.

SLAVE STATES.	Value of Real Estate. 1850.	Value of Personal Estate, including Slaves. 1850.	Total Value of Real and Personal Estate. 1850.	True Value of Real and Personal Estate, as given in Census Compendium. 1850.	Value of Slaves at \$400 per head. 1850.	True Value of Real and Personal Estate, deducting the Value of Slaves, at \$400 per head. 1850.	Value of Real and Personal Estate, as given by Secretary of Treasury. 1856.
Alabama	\$78,870,718	\$162,453,705	\$241,324,423	\$228,204,332	\$137,137,600	\$81,086,732	\$279,293,027
Arkansas	17,372,524	19,066,151	36,438,675	39,841,025	18,840,000	21,001,025	64,240,726
Delaware	14,486,595	1,410,275	15,896,870	18,355,863	916,000	17,989,863	30,486,924
Florida	7,924,588	15,274,146	23,198,734	23,198,734	15,724,000	7,474,734	49,461,461
Georgia	121,619,738	213,490,486	335,110,225	335,425,714	152,672,800	182,752,914	500,000,000
Kentucky	177,013,407	114,374,147	291,387,554	301,623,456	84,392,400	217,235,056	411,000,000
Louisiana	176,023,654	49,832,464	226,456,118	233,998,764	97,923,600	136,075,164	270,425,000
Maryland	139,026,610	69,585,966	208,412,576	219,217,364	86,147,200	133,070,164	261,243,660
Massachusetts	65,171,438	143,250,729	208,422,167	228,951,200	123,951,200	105,000,000	251,625,000
Missouri	66,802,223	31,738,240	98,540,463	137,247,707	34,968,800	102,278,907	239,948,731
North Carolina	71,702,740	140,398,673	212,071,413	226,800,472	115,419,200	111,881,272	239,003,372
South Carolina	105,737,492	178,130,217	283,867,709	288,257,694	153,963,600	134,294,094	303,434,240
Tennessee	107,981,733	87,299,565	195,281,298	207,454,704	95,783,600	111,671,104	321,776,310
Texas	23,149,671	25,414,000	48,563,671	55,362,340	23,264,400	32,097,940	240,000,000
Virginia	252,105,824	130,198,429	382,304,253	391,646,458	139,011,200	252,634,658	530,994,397
Total	\$1,430,569,016	\$1,381,894,133	\$2,812,473,199	\$2,838,090,737	\$1,280,145,600	\$1,655,945,137	\$3,977,353,946

and this after having added to the valuation of Georgia \$165,000,000, on the bare conjecture of her governor.

The following recent State valuations will further illustrate the estimates of the Secretary of the Treasury:

Valuation of New Hampshire, 1856, . . .	\$121,417,428
“ “ New York, 1855, as follows, viz:	
New York city and county real estate, . . .	337,038,526
“ “ “ personal estate, . . .	150,022,312
“ “ “ aggregate, . . .	487,060,838
Remainder of State real estate, . . .	770,234,189
“ “ personal estate, . . .	143,990,252
Total valuation of the State of New York, . . .	1,401,285,279
Valuation of New York city, 1856, . . .	517,889,201
“ “ Connecticut, 1854, . . .	202,739,431
“ “ Michigan, 1853, . . .	120,362,474
“ “ Indiana, 1854, . . .	290,408,148
“ “ Maryland, including slaves, 1851, . . .	191,888,088
“ “ South Carolina, “ “ 1854, . . .	82,613,530
“ “ Tennessee, “ “ 1855, . . .	219,011,048
“ “ Kentucky, “ “ 1854, . . .	405,830,168

It will be seen by tables XXX. and XXXI. that the value of real and personal estate in 1850 was as follows, viz:

Free States, ...	\$4,107,162,198
Slave States, ...	2,936,090,737
Deduct value of slaves, ...	1,280,145,600
True value in Slave States, ...	1,655,945,137

The total value of real and personal estate in 1856 is as follows, viz:

Free States, ...	\$5,770,194,680
Slave States, ...	3,977,353,946
Deduct value of slaves in 1856, ...	1,472,167,600
True value in Slave States in 1856, ...	2,505,186,346

The whole area of the Free States (Table IX.) is 392,062,080 acres; the valuation of real and personal property in 1850, \$4,107,162,198, or \$10.47 per acre. The whole area (Table

X.) of the Slave States is five hundred and forty-four million, nine hundred and twenty-six thousand, seven hundred and twenty (544,926,720) acres; the valuation of real and personal estate in 1850, one billion, six hundred and fifty-five million, nine hundred and forty-five thousand, one hundred and thirty-seven (\$1,655,945,137), or three dollars and four cents (\$3.04) per acre. The valuation of the Free States in 1856 was five billion, seven hundred and seventy million, one hundred and ninety-four thousand, six hundred and eighty (\$5,770,194,680), or fourteen dollars and seventy-two cents (\$14.72) per acre; the valuation of the Slave States in 1856 was two billion, five hundred and five million, one hundred and eighty-six thousand, three hundred and forty-six (\$2,505,186,346), or four dollars and fifty-nine cents (\$4.59) per acre. Thus, in five years the value of property in the Free States advanced from ten dollars and forty-seven cents (\$10.47) per acre to fourteen dollars and seventy-two cents (\$14.72), or four dollars and twenty-five cents (\$4.25), being more than the whole valuation of the Slave States in 1850. The value of property in the South advanced in the same time from three dollars and four cents (\$3.04) to four dollars and fifty-nine cents (\$4.59) per acre.

The value of the slaves in the Slave States, in 1850, at four hundred dollars (\$400) each, was one billion two hundred and eighty million, one hundred and forty-five thousand, six hundred dollars (\$1,280,145,600). The value of the farms in the Slave States in the same year (Table X.) was one billion, one hundred and seventeen million, six hundred and forty-nine thousand, six hundred and forty-nine dollars (\$1,117,649,649). Excess of value of slaves, one hundred and sixty-two million, four hundred and ninety-five thousand, nine hundred and fifty-one dollars (\$162,495,951). Thus, the value of the slaves in 1850 was one hundred and sixty-two million, four hundred and ninety-five thousand, nine hundred and fifty-one dollars (\$162,495,951) more than the value of all the improved and unimproved lands in the South. The number of slaveholders in

the Slave States is three hundred and forty-six thousand and forty-eight (346,048). If we estimate their value at four hundred dollars (\$400) per head, and add it to the value of the farms, it will make the value of the slaveholders and farms nearly equal to that of the slaves. The figures are: Value of farms, one billion, one hundred and seventeen million, six hundred and forty-nine thousand, six hundred and forty-nine (\$1,117,649,649); value of three hundred and forty-six thousand and forty-eight (346,048) slaveholders, at four hundred dollars (\$400) each, one hundred and thirty-eight million, one hundred and ninety-two thousand, two hundred dollars (\$138,192,200), being a total of one billion, two hundred and fifty-six million, sixty-eight thousand, eight hundred and forty-nine dollars (\$1,256,068,849); value of slaves as above, one billion, two hundred and eighty million, one hundred and forty-five thousand, six hundred dollars (\$1,280,145,600). Thus has the industry and political and domestic economy of the slaveholders, in two hundred and thirty years, been able to bring the value of their lands and themselves nearly up to the market value of their slaves; and all three together, lands, slaves, and slaveholders, to nearly half the value of the property of the Free States.

The valuation of the State of New York in 1855 was one billion, four hundred and one million, two hundred and eighty-five thousand, two hundred and seventy-nine dollars (\$1,401,285,279), being more than the whole value of the real estate of the Slave States in 1850, which, after deducting from the aggregate the value of the slaves in Louisiana, was one billion, three hundred and thirty-two million, six hundred and sixty-five thousand, four hundred and sixteen dollars (\$1,332,665,416). The value of the real and personal estate of Massachusetts in 1850 was more (slaves excepted) than that of the States of Virginia, North and South Carolina, Georgia, Florida, and Texas; the valuation of Massachusetts being five hundred and seventy-three million, three hundred and forty-two thousand, two hundred and eighty-six dollars (\$573,342,286); that

of the six States mentioned being five hundred and seventy-three million, three hundred and thirty-two thousand, eight hundred and sixty dollars (\$573,332,860.) In this calculation, South Carolina is reckoned at its State valuation of 1854. The whole area of Massachusetts is (Table IX.) four million, nine hundred and ninety-two thousand (4,992,000) acres; value of its whole property per acre, one hundred and fourteen dollars and eighty-five cents (\$114.85.) The whole area of the six States above mentioned is (Table X.) three hundred and seventeen million, five hundred and seventy-six thousand, three hundred and twenty (317,576,320) acres; value of their whole property, except slaves, five hundred and seventy-three million, three hundred and thirty-two thousand, eight hundred and sixty dollars (\$573,332,860), or one dollar and eighty-one cents (\$1.81) per acre. Thus, Massachusetts is able to buy and pay for considerably more than half the great empire of slavery, and have more money left than the Pilgrims landed with at Plymouth; while Pennsylvania could easily buy out the other half.

Table XXXI. shows the number of miles of canals and railroads in operation in 1854, (with the cost of construction of such railroads), the number of miles of railroads in operation in January, 1855, and the amount of bank capital near January, 1855, in the several Free and Slave States. The first three columns of the tables are from the Census Compendium, the last two from the American Almanac for 1856.

Table XXXII. gives the total debt, amount of productive property, and the annual expenditure of the several Free and Slave States. The figures are from the American Almanac for 1856.



TABLE XXXI.

A Statement of the Number of Miles of Canals and Railroads in operation in 1854 (with the cost of construction), and the Miles of completed Railroads, and the Amount of Bank Capital, near January, 1855, in the several Free and Slave States.

FREE STATES.	Canals, miles in operation. 1854.	Railroads, miles in operation. 1854.	Cost of Railroads. 1854.	Railroads, miles in operation. Jan'y, 1855.	Bank Capital 1854-5.	SLAVE STATES.	Canals, miles in operation. 1854.	Railroads, miles in operation. 1854.	Cost of Railroads. 1854.	Railroads, miles in operation. Jan'y, 1855.	Bank Capital 1854-5.
Connecticut.....	61	639	\$20,857,357	625	\$15,597,801	Alabama.....	51	221	\$8,638,208	393	\$2,296,400
Illinois.....	100	1,292	25,420,000	1,994	2,513,750	Delaware.....	14	16	600,000	22	1,333,175
Indiana.....	397	1,127	22,400,000	1,632	7,281,934	Florida.....	54	54	250,000	25	13,413,100
Iowa.....	50	417	12,692,645	470	7,301,252	Georgia.....	28	884	16,084,872	1,146	10,289,717
Maine.....	100	1,283	55,692,687	1,437	54,492,690	Kentucky.....	486	233	4,900,000	187	20,179,107
Massachusetts.....	50	601	13,842,279	669	980,416	Louisiana.....	101	117	1,131,000	251	10,411,874
Michigan.....	11	512	16,135,254	502	3,696,416	Maryland.....	184	597	26,024,020	545	240,165
New Hampshire.....	147	408	11,538,505	444	5,314,885	Mississippi.....	50	155	3,070,000	67	1,215,398
New Jersey.....	989	2,345	94,523,785	2,287	83,773,281	Missouri.....	13	50	1,000,000	140	5,205,072
New York.....	921	2,367	44,927,058	2,423	7,166,581	North Carolina.....	50	249	4,103,000	568	16,063,253
Ohio.....	936	1,464	58,494,675	1,690	19,864,825	South Carolina.....	50	575	11,287,063	698	6,717,548
Pennsylvania.....	921	1,464	58,494,675	1,690	19,864,825	Tennessee.....	50	575	11,287,063	698	6,717,548
Rhode Island.....	50	50	2,614,484	66	17,511,162	Texas.....	189	388	7,800,000	274	14,033,393
Vermont.....	422	178	14,116,195	556	3,275,656	Virginia.....	189	673	12,720,421	1,023	14,033,393
Wisconsin.....	178	178	3,300,000	231	1,400,000						
Total.....	3,632	13,105	\$336,952,924	15,080	\$230,100,340	Total.....	1,116	4,212	\$92,530,204	5,250	\$102,078,948

TABLE XXXII.

Debt, Productive Property, and Annual Expenditure of the several Free and Slave States, compiled from State Returns, near January 1, 1855.

FREE STATES.	Total Debt of State. 1855.	Productive Property, exclusive of School Fund. 1855.	Ordinary Annual Expenditure, exclusive of Debts and Schools.	SLAVE STATES.	Total Debt of State. 1855.	Productive Property, exclusive of School Fund. 1855.	Ordinary Annual Expenditure, exclusive of Debts and Schools.
Maine	\$685,500	\$648,289	\$150,000	Delaware	none.	\$350,638	\$11,000
New Hampshire ..	"	"	80,000	Maryland	\$15,132,909	12,555,842	170,000
Vermont	6,739,555	"	100,000	Virginia	28,603,979	5,395,582	600,000
Massachusetts	382,335	8,967,509	600,000	North Carolina ..	3,409,633	600,000	75,000
Rhode Island	none.	406,000	55,000	South Carolina ..	2,917,896	5,460,291	115,000
Connecticut	26,047,898	38,800,000	120,000	Georgia	2,644,222	5,000,000	131,000
New York	65,000	252,174	750,000	Florida	none.	45,000	45,000
New Jersey	40,613,160	35,060,667	90,000	Alabama	6,168,987	700,000	100,000
Pennsylvania	16,662,959	18,000,000	425,000	Mississippi	7,271,707	.....	130,000
Ohio	3,213,245	.....	200,000	Louisiana	12,459,350	.....	515,000
Michigan	7,338,473	.....	125,000	Texas	12,436,991	.....	100,000
Indiana	13,994,615	.....	80,000	Arkansas	3,319,596	.....	35,000
Illinois	79,796	58,571	125,000	Tennessee	8,744,857	2,244,827	165,000
Iowa	100,000	.....	25,000	Kentucky	6,147,284	.....	250,000
Wisconsin	1,812,502	.....	40,000	Missouri	9,802,000	378,538	110,000
California .....	.....	.....	700,000	.....	.....	.....	.....
Total	\$117,735,038	\$109,193,210	\$3,665,000	Total	\$119,059,111	\$32,685,718	\$2,552,000

CHAPTER VIII.

EDUCATION.—I. COLLEGES.

THE first college established in the Free States was Harvard University, founded in 1636; which was sixteen years after the landing of the Pilgrims at Plymouth. The first college in the Slave States was that of William and Mary, in Virginia, founded in 1692, or eighty-four years after the settlement of Jamestown. The number of students in the former is now 365; in the latter, 82. The number of alumni of the former, 6,700; of the latter, 3,000. The number of volumes in the library of the former is 101,250; of the latter 5,000.

It will be seen by Tables XXXIII and XXXIV, taken from the American Almanac for 1856, and showing the present condition of the colleges in the two great sections, that the number of colleges is nearly the same in each. The comparative character and efficiency of these institutions, may be in some measure learned from the following facts. The number of volumes in the libraries of the Southern colleges is 308,011; in those of the northern, 667,297; over two to one. The number graduated at the South is 13,648; at the North 47,752; about two and one-half to one. The number of Ministers educated in the Southern colleges is 747, and in the Northern, 10,702; a ratio of fourteen to one.

It would indeed be interesting, were it possible, to compare these institutions in respect to value of buildings, apparatus, cabinets, &c.; but the statistics of these cannot be readily obtained. Still more difficult would it be to compare statistically the ability of professors and the standard of scholarship.

TABLE XXXIII.

Colleges in the Slave States.

SLAVE STATES.	No. of Col- leges.	No. of In- structors.	No. of Alumni.	No. of Min- isters.	Students.	Volumes in Libraries.
Delaware	2	18	83	42	137	11,500
Maryland	5	69	607	13	399	33,292
Virginia	10	72	9,528	146	1,174	65,875
North Carolina ...	3	24	1,406	123	469	23,700
South Carolina ...	2	14	3,124	3	190	23,800
Georgia	5	34	1,359	133	643	25,700
Alabama	4	40	676	28	333	23,200
Mississippi	4	16	252	16	315	10,700
Louisiana	4	26	94	10	157	9,000
Tennessee	8	39	838	74	570	29,744
Kentucky	7	54	1,342	130	700	27,900
Missouri	5	44	339	29	568	23,600
Total	59	450	19,648	747	5,655	308,011

TABLE XXXIV.

Colleges in the Free States.

FREE STATES.	No. of Col- leges.	No. of In- structors.	No. of Alumni.	No. of Ministers.	Students.	Volumes in Libraries.
Maine.....	2	15	1,418	303	274	43,150
New Hampshire..	1	12	4,187	883	258	31,900
Vermont	3	16	1,536	527	228	21,650
Massachusetts ...	4	47	9,404	2,612	807	122,750
Rhode Island....	1	10	1,860	500	225	34,000
Connecticut	3	43	7,407	1,956	669	91,000
New York	8	84	6,888	1,461	1,080	80,516
New Jersey	3	54	3,855	837	449	28,000
Pennsylvania	9	66	8,298	741	959	71,180
Ohio	12	88	1,958	644	1,191	92,191
Indiana	4	27	546	158	300	19,600
Illinois	4	30	257	79	245	15,860
Michigan	2	14	130		180	13,000
Wisconsin	5	11	8	1	30	2,500
Total	61	517	47,752	10,702	6,895	667,297

II. — PROFESSIONAL SCHOOLS.

The condition of the Professional Schools is shown by the following Table, taken from the same authority as the above. From this it appears that at the South a larger proportion of professional students are in the Law Schools than at the North. Next in order in this respect is Medicine, and last, Theology. Indeed, the Census Tables do not show where the great body of the Southern clergy are educated, since but 747 are returned from the colleges, and only 808 from the Theological Schools.

It will be noticed that the number of Professional Schools in the Slave States is 32, and in the Free States 65, or two to one. The ratio of Professors is a little larger. The number of Students in the former is 1,807, and in the latter 4,426. The number of volumes in the libraries of the former is 30,796, and in those of the latter, 175,951; more than five to one. The number graduated at the former, 3,812, and at the latter, 23,513; over six to one.

TABLE XXXV.

Showing the Condition of the Professional Schools in the North and the South, from the American Almanac for 1856.

SLAVE STATES.

Professional Schools.	Number of Schools.	Number of Professors.	Number of Students, 1854-5.	Number Educated.	Number of Vols. in Libraries.
Law	9	19	231	.....	.....
Medicine	13	75	1,307	3,004	.....
Theology	10	28	269	808	30,796
Total	32	122	1,807	3,812	30,796

FREE STATES.

Professional Schools.	Number of Schools.	Number of Professors.	Number of Students, 1854-5.	Number Educated.	Number of Vols. in Libraries.
Law	9	19	240	.....	.....
Medicine	22	152	3,095	15,950	.....
Theology	34	98	1,091	7,563	175,951
Total	65	269	4,426	23,513	175,951

III. — ACADEMIES, PRIVATE AND PUBLIC SCHOOLS.

In all the New England colonies, a law was passed in 1647, "That every township, after the Lord hath increased them to the number of fifty householders, shall appoint one to teach all children to write and read; and when any town shall increase to the number of one hundred families, they shall set up a grammar school; the masters thereof being able to instruct youth so far as they may be fitted for the university." See Colonial Laws.

Again, in Connecticut we find the following: "Forasmuch as the good Education of Children is of singular behoofe and benefit to any Commonwealth, and whereas, many parents and masters are too indulgent and negligent of their duty in that kinde:—

"It is therefore ordered by this Courte and Authority thereof that the Selectmen of every Town, in the Several precincts and quarters where they dwell, shall have a vigilant eye over their brethren and neighbours to see first that none of them shall suffer so much Barbarism in any of their families as not to endeavour to teach by themselves or others their Children and apprentices so much Learning as may enable them perfectly to read the English tongue, and knowledge of the Capitall Laws, upon penalty of twenty shillings for each neglect therein." See "Code of Laws established by the General

Court of Conn., May, 1650," as recorded in Vol. II. of the Colonial Records of Conn.

In the year 1671, or twenty-four years after the establishment of public schools by law in the Plymouth Colonies, and over thirty years after Harvard college was founded, and a printing press set up in Cambridge, Gov. Berkley, at that time Governor of Virginia, said of that State: "I thank God there are no free schools nor printing, and I hope we shall not have these hundred years, for learning has brought disobedience and heresy and sects into the world, and printing has divulged them, and libels against the best government; God keep us from both."

The following Tables Nos. XXXVI., XXXVII., XXXVIII., and XXXIX., show the condition of the Academies, Private and Public Schools in 1850, as given in the Census Compendium:

TABLE XXXVI.

Academies and Private Schools in the Slave States.

SLAVE STATES.	Number.	Teachers.	Pupils.	Annual Income.	Scholars in Colleges, Academies and Public Schools.
Alabama	166	380	8,290	\$164,165	37,237
Arkansas	90	126	2,407	27,937	11,050
Delaware	65	94	2,011	47,832	11,125
Florida	34	49	1,251	13,089	3,129
Georgia	219	318	9,059	108,983	43,299
Kentucky	330	600	12,712	252,617	85,914
Louisiana	143	354	5,328	193,077	31,003
Maryland	223	503	10,787	232,341	45,025
Mississippi	171	297	6,628	73,717	26,236
Missouri	204	368	8,829	143,171	61,592
North Carolina	272	403	7,822	187,648	112,430
South Carolina	202	333	7,467	205,489	26,035
Tennessee	264	404	9,928	155,902	115,750
Texas	97	137	3,389	39,384	11,500
Virginia	317	547	9,068	234,372	77,774
Total	2,797	4,913	104,976	\$2,079,724	699,079

TABLE XXXVII.

Academies and Private Schools in the Free States.

FREE STATES.	Number.	Teachers.	Pupils.	Annual Increase.	Scholars in Colleges, Academies and Public Schools.
California	6	5	170	\$14,270	219
Connecticut	202	329	6,996	145,967	79,003
Illinois	83	160	4,244	40,488	130,411
Indiana	131	233	6,185	63,520	168,754
Iowa	33	46	1,111	7,980	30,767
Maine	131	232	6,648	51,187	199,745
Massachusetts	403	521	13,436	310,177	190,924
Michigan	37	71	1,619	24,947	112,382
New Hampshire	107	183	5,321	43,202	81,237
New Jersey	225	453	9,844	227,588	88,244
New York	887	3,136	49,328	810,332	727,222
Ohio	206	474	15,052	149,392	502,826
Pennsylvania	524	914	23,751	467,843	440,977
Rhode Island	46	75	1,601	32,748	25,014
Vermont	118	257	6,864	48,935	100,785
Wisconsin	58	86	2,723	18,796	61,615
Total	3,197	7,175	154,893	\$2,457,372	2,940,125

TABLE XXXVIII.

Public Schools of the Slave States.

SLAVE STATES.	Number.	Teachers.	Pupils.	Annual Income of Public Schools.
Alabama	1,152	1,195	28,380	\$315,602
Arkansas	353	355	8,493	43,763
Delaware	194	214	8,970	43,861
Florida	69	73	1,878	22,386
Georgia	1,251	1,265	32,705	182,231
Kentucky	2,234	2,306	71,429	211,852
Louisiana	664	822	25,046	349,679
Maryland	898	986	33,111	218,836
Mississippi	782	826	18,746	254,159
Missouri	1,570	1,620	51,754	160,770
North Carolina	2,657	2,730	104,095	158,564
South Carolina	724	739	17,838	200,600
Tennessee	2,680	2,819	104,117	198,518
Texas	349	360	7,946	44,088
Virginia	2,930	2,997	67,353	314,625
Total	18,507	19,307	581,861	\$2,719,534

TABLE XXXIX.

Public Schools of the Free States.

FREE STATES.	Number.	Teachers.	Pupils.	Annual In- come of Pub- lic Schools.
California.....	2	2	49	\$3,600
Connecticut.....	1,656	1,787	71,269	231,220
Illinois.....	4,052	4,248	125,725	349,712
Indiana.....	4,822	4,860	161,500	316,955
Iowa.....	740	828	29,556	51,492
Maine.....	4,042	5,540	192,815	315,436
Massachusetts.....	3,679	4,443	176,475	1,006,795
Michigan.....	2,714	3,231	10,455	167,806
New Hampshire.....	2,381	3,013	75,643	166,944
New Jersey.....	1,473	1,574	77,930	216,672
New York.....	11,580	13,965	675,221	1,472,657
Ohio.....	11,661	12,886	484,153	743,074
Pennsylvania.....	9,061	10,024	413,706	1,348,249
Rhode Island.....	416	518	23,130	100,481
Vermont.....	2,731	4,173	93,457	176,111
Wisconsin.....	1,423	1,529	58,817	113,133
Total.....	62,433	72,621	2,769,901	\$6,780,337

It will be seen that in the South a larger proportion of the children who attend School, attend at private Schools, than at the North. Still the number of scholars in these Schools is but a slight fraction over two-thirds as great at the South as at the North, and the amount of money paid for the support of these Schools nearly \$400,000 less in the slave than in the free States.

It is to be regretted that we are unable to compare these Schools in other respects, but figures can carry us no further at this time. Perhaps by comparing the different sections of this chapter we may be able to form a just opinion.

It will be observed that the Public School statistics would not be materially affected for purposes of comparison, were those of the private Schools added to them.

The number of public Schools at the South is 18,507; at the North, 62,433; a ratio of about three and one-half to one. Teachers at the South, 19,307; at the North, 72,621; almost

four to one. The number of Scholars at the South is 581,861, and at the North, 2,769,901; nearly five to one, and over 2,000,000 more at the North than at the South. Indeed, if we compare the *entire* number attending all Schools (Colleges Academies, private and public Schools,) we find in the North a majority over the South of 2,241,046, which is now more than three times the entire number attending School in the Southern States. In other words, more than four-fifths of the children attending School in the Union are in the free States. The amount of money expended annually for these Schools is, in the Slave States, \$4,799,258; and in the free States, \$9,237,709.

The State of Ohio is not quite two-thirds as large as Virginia. Virginia has 77,764 scholars at School and Ohio has 502,826.

The area of Kentucky is very nearly equal to that of Ohio, the population almost exactly one-half as great, and the number of scholars at School a little more than one-sixth.

Massachusetts is one-fourth as large as South Carolina, and contains nearly four times as many white inhabitants. The number of scholars attending School in South Carolina, is 26,025; in Massachusetts, 190,924.

The amount expended for Schools, both public and private, in South Carolina, is \$406,089; in Massachusetts, it is \$1,316,972; a difference of almost a million of dollars.

The whole number of scholars at School in the fifteen slave-holding States, is 699,079; in the single State of New York, it is 727,222.

Such are the figures of the Census for 1850.

Great effort has been made to obtain such statistics as to show the condition of all grades of Schools at the *present time*, much more fully than it can be learned from the census for the time when that was taken. Not enough, however, could be obtained for purposes of just comparison, the annual reports from the Slave States being so exceedingly meagre. So far,



however, as such reports could be obtained, they show that the difference between the free and slave States, in regard to education, is constantly increasing.

This arises from the want of any regular system for education of the poorer classes, who are increasing so rapidly in the Southern States. Proofs of this might be given, were it not a well known fact.

On page 146 of the Census Compendium, it is said of "Georgia—no public Schools strictly, but Schools receive a certain amount of aid from State funds. This is true for many Southern States."

The State of South Carolina appropriates annually the sum of \$75,000 to free Schools. Gov. Manning, in his message of Nov. 28, 1853, says that "under the present mode of applying it, that liberality is really the profusion of the prodigal, rather than the judicious generosity which confers real benefit."

In the State of Arkansas, only forty Schools were reported to the Commissioner for 1854. It is of course utterly impossible to obtain any reliable information with regard to the Schools there, though we may form a very just opinion concerning their character in such a community. The Commissioner says, "The great obstacle to the organization of common Schools is not so much a deficiency in the means to sustain them, as it is the indifference that pervades the public mind on the subject of education."

The amount expended by the State of Virginia, in 1854, for the education of poor children, was \$69,404. For the maintenance of the public guard, \$73,189.

New England, whose area is less than one-twelfth greater, appropriated \$2,000,000 for Public Schools, and felt secure without a public guard.

The State of South Carolina has established one Free State Scholarship; the State of Massachusetts has established forty-eight.

In Kentucky, the average number of scholars at school in 1854, was 76,429. In Ohio it was 279,635. The total amount of money distributed (for public schools) during the year 1854, in Kentucky, was \$146,047. The amount appropriated by the State of Ohio for the same purpose, was \$2,266,609 ; a difference of over \$2,000,000.

There are very many items of expenditure for educational purposes at the North, for which the corresponding sums at the South cannot be ascertained. Among these are Teachers' Institutes, holden annually in every county in many of the Northern States ; Teachers' Associations, Normal Schools, School-houses, &c. The value of school buildings in the State of Ohio in 1854, was \$2,197,384, and in Massachusetts it was, in 1848, \$2,750,000 ; even in the little State of Rhode Island it is \$319,293. The amount raised by taxation for educational purposes is now, in each of the three states, New York, Pennsylvania, and Massachusetts, over one million dollars annually.

The Report of the Commissioner of Public Schools to the Mayor and City Council of Baltimore, for the year 1851, gives the following facts :

The value of school buildings in the city of Baltimore, is \$105,729 ; New York, \$552,457 ; Philadelphia, \$858,224 ; and in Boston \$729,502.*

The following table is copied from the same report :

TABLE XL.

Showing the Condition of Public Schools in certain Cities.

CITIES.	Population.	Schools	Teachers.	Pupils.	Cost of Tuition.
Boston	138,788	203	353	21,678	\$237,000
New York	517,000	207	332	40,055	274,794
Philadelphia	409,000	270	781	48,056	341,888
Baltimore	169,012	36	138	8,011	32,423
Cincinnati	116,000	17	124	6,006	81,623
St. Louis	81,000	73	168	6,642	.....

* Besides this there were paid for new buildings in Boston, \$56,000 ; in Philadelphia, \$24,473 ; and in Cincinnati, \$10,000.

The population of Baltimore is 30,000 greater than that of Boston. Baltimore has 8,000 scholars at school, for whose instruction she pays \$30,000. Boston has 20,000, and pays for instruction, \$230,000.

It would indeed be interesting, were it a matter capable of statistical comparisons, to trace the results of the superior educational advantages enjoyed by the children of the North ; to compare the philosophers, orators, and statesmen, men of skill, science, or literature, authors, poets, and sculptors, of the two sections. To see how many of those who are most distinguished at the South were born, bred, and educated at the North.

DeBow, in a labored article in the Census Compendium, in behalf of the southern schools, says : " An examination of Massachusetts shows, out of 2,357 'students,' mentioned, 711, or one-third nearly, born out of the State, and 152, or one-fifteenth, born in the South. On the other hand a southern town, taken at random, furnished one out of three editors, four out of twelve teachers, two out of seven clergymen, born in the non-slaveholding States."

The presumption is that *not so large* a proportion of the students in Southern institutions are sent there from the North to be educated, and that, on the other hand, not so large a proportion of the editors, teachers and clergymen of the North are of Southern birth and education.

IV. — LIBRARIES.

The following tables, Nos. XLI. and XLII., are of great importance in connection with the subject of education, as showing the literary tastes, habits of thought, and sources of enjoyment, of the people. These tables also show the character of the various institutions in the two sections, more correctly than it could be ascertained from almost any other source, embracing as they do the Public School, Sunday School, College and Church libraries :

TABLE XII.

Libraries other than Private in the Slave States.

SLAVE STATES.	Public		School.		Sunday School.		College.		Church		Total.	
	Number.	Volumes.	Number.	Volumes.	Number.	Volumes.	Number.	Volumes.	Number.	Volumes.	Number.	Volumes.
Alabama	4	3,848	32	3,500	15	5,775	5	7,500	..	.....	56	20,623
Arkansas	1	250	...	.....	2	170	..	.....	..	.....	3	430
Delaware	4	10,250	...	.....	12	2,700	1	5,000	..	.....	17	17,950
Florida	1	1,000	2	800	4	860	..	.....	..	.....	7	2,680
Georgia	3	6,500	11	1,800	15	1,988	9	21,500	..	.....	38	31,788
Kentucky	47	40,424	...	.....	18	4,617	11	33,225	4	1,200	80	79,466
Louisiana	5	9,800	2	13,000	...	.....	3	5,000	..	.....	10	26,800
Maryland	17	54,750	8	6,335	84	28,315	10	33,792	5	1,850	134	125,042
Mississippi	4	7,264	103	3,650	6	730	4	10,093	..	.....	117	21,737
Missouri	13	23,106	13	17,150	66	14,500	4	19,700	1	600	97	75,056
North Carolina	4	2,500	1	1,500	19	2,352	5	21,593	9	1,647	38	29,592
South Carolina	16	73,758	3	2,750	...	.....	7	30,964	..	.....	26	107,472
Tennessee	9	5,373	2	5,100	18	2,498	5	9,935	..	.....	34	22,896
Texas	3	2,100	3	430	5	1,600	1	100	..	.....	12	4,230
Virginia	21	32,595	6	2,706	11	1,975	14	50,856	2	330	54	88,482
Total	152	273,518	186	57,721	275	63,463	79	249,248	21	5,627	695	649,577

TABLE XLII.
Libraries other than Private in the Free States.

FREE STATES.	Public.		School.		Sunday School.		College.		Church.		Total.		
	Number.	Volumes.	Number.	Volumes.	Number.	Volumes.	Number.	Volumes.	Number.	Volumes.	Number.	Volumes.	
California.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	
Connecticut.....	42	38,609	4	5,039	107	38,445	8	82,600	3	265	.....	164	165,318
Illinois.....	33	35,982	29	5,875	86	12,829	4	7,800	.....	.....	.....	152	62,486
Indiana.....	58	46,238	3	1,800	85	11,265	4	8,700	1	400	.....	151	68,403
Iowa.....	4	2,650	4	160	24	2,980	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	32	5,790
Maine.....	77	51,439	11	2,225	131	26,988	8	39,625	9	1,692	.....	236	121,969
Massachusetts...	177	257,737	792	104,645	433	165,476	18	141,400	42	14,757	.....	1,462	684,015
Michigan.....	280	65,116	119	31,437	15	3,500	3	7,900	.....	.....	.....	417	107,943
New Hampshire..	47	42,017	3	1,200	70	20,117	3	19,975	6	2,450	.....	129	85,759
New Jersey.....	77	43,903	10	4,080	35	8,564	4	24,000	2	338	.....	128	80,885
New York.....	43	197,229	10,802	1,388,729	137	33,294	25	138,870	6	2,698	.....	11,013	1,760,820
Ohio.....	65	65,703	13	9,665	248	53,910	22	56,573	4	975	.....	352	186,826
Pennsylvania....	90	184,666	30	17,161	226	58,071	21	77,050	26	26,452	.....	393	363,400
Rhode Island....	26	42,007	12	5,814	50	23,765	1	31,000	7	1,756	.....	96	104,342
Vermont.....	30	21,061	16	9,700	38	10,020	9	23,280	3	580	.....	96	64,641
Wisconsin.....	9	12,040	33	2,163	28	5,017	2	1,800	.....	.....	.....	72	21,020
Total	1,058	1,106,397	11,881	1,589,683	1,713	478,858	132	660,573	109	52,723	.....	14,911	3,888,234

From these it will be seen that the total number of volumes in the libraries of the South, is 649,577; in those of the North, 3,888,234; a difference more than 3,000,000 in favor of the free States. Six volumes in the libraries of the North to one at the South. But we need not compare aggregates when the difference is so overwhelming. The Sunday School libraries of the North are nearly twice as great as the College libraries of the South; and the College libraries of the North greater than *all* the libraries of the South.

Maine has more volumes in her libraries than South Carolina, Rhode Island than Virginia, or even more than all the five states, Georgia, Alabama, Mississippi, Louisiana, and Florida; and Massachusetts more than all the fifteen slave States.

Michigan and Arkansas are very nearly equal, both in age and territory, Michigan having been admitted into the Union in 1837, and Arkansas in 1836; while the area of Michigan is 56,243 square miles, and that of Arkansas 52,198. Michigan has 107,943 volumes in her libraries, Arkansas has 420; a ratio of 257 to 1.

The public school libraries alone of the single state of New York, contain more than twice as many volumes as all the libraries together of the whole South. Nor are we to suppose that because *Common School* Libraries, they are necessarily inferior either in cost or character. We learn from the *American Almanac* for the present year, that in the State of Illinois "690 school libraries, of 321 volumes each, were distributed throughout the state. The aggregate cost of these 221,490 volumes was \$147,222, or an average of \$213 for each library."

If the New York common school libraries were purchased at a similar cost, (over sixty-six cents per volume,) their *value* is doubtless greater than that of all the libraries in the fifteen slave States.

V. — ILLITERATE.

Thus far the large figures have been all in one direction, but here the case is different. The South is in advance and still advancing.

The following tables, Nos XLIII. and XLIV., show the number unable to read and write. It will be seen that the number of native white citizens of this class in the free States is 248,725, and in the slave States 493,026, a number about twice as great in a population of far less than half.

The number of native white adults who cannot read and write, in the State of Tennessee, is 77,017, in a white population of 756,836. The number in New York, 23,241, in a white population of 3,048,325.

TABLE XLIII.

Persons in the Slave States over Twenty Years of Age who cannot Read and Write.

SLAVE STATES.	Whites.	Free Colored.	Natives.	Foreign.	Native Whites.
Alabama	33,757	235	33,853	139	33,618
Arkansas	16,819	116	16,908	27	16,792
Delaware	4,536	5,645	9,777	404	4,132
Florida	3,859	270	3,834	295	3,564
Georgia	41,200	467	41,261	406	40,794
Kentucky	66,687	3,019	67,359	2,347	64,340
Louisiana	21,221	3,389	18,339	6,271	14,950
Maryland	20,815	21,062	38,426	3,451	17,364
Mississippi	13,405	123	13,447	81	13,324
Missouri	36,281	497	34,917	1,861	34,420
North Carolina	73,566	6,857	80,083	340	73,226
South Carolina	15,684	880	16,460	104	15,580
Tennessee	77,522	1,097	78,114	505	77,017
Texas	10,525	58	8,095	2,488	8,037
Virginia	77,005	11,515	87,383	1,137	75,868
Total	512,882	55,230	548,256	19,856	493,026

The number in Georgia is 40,794, in a white population of 521,572, and of Pennsylvania it is 41,944, in a white population of 2,258,160.

Again. The number of white inhabitants over twenty years of age, in the state of New Hampshire, is 174,232. The number of native white adults who cannot read and write, is 893, or 1 in 201. In Connecticut it is 1 in 277; in Vermont 1 in 284; and in Massachusetts 1 in 517. In South Carolina, on the other hand, it is 1 in 7; in Virginia 1 in 5, and in North Carolina 1 in 3.

Such facts as these show the condition and character of the schools in the North and the South more clearly than all other statistics combined.

TABLE XLIV.

Persons in the Free States over Twenty Years of Age who cannot Read and Write.

FREE STATES.	Whites.	Native Whites.	Natives.	Foreign.	Free Colored.
California	5,118	117	2,318	2,917	2,201
Connecticut.....	4,739	567	1,293	4,013	826
Illinois.....	40,054	1,229	35,336	5,947	34,107
Indiana.....	70,540	2,170	69,445	3,265	67,275
Iowa.....	8,120	33	7,076	1,077	7,043
Maine.....	6,147	135	2,134	4,148	1,999
Massachusetts	27,539	806	1,861	26,484	1,055
Michigan.....	7,912	369	5,272	3,009	4,903
New Hampshire.....	2,957	52	945	2,064	893
New Jersey.....	14,248	4,417	12,787	5,878	8,370
New York.....	91,293	7,429	30,670	68,052	23,241
Ohio.....	61,030	4,990	56,958	9,062	51,968
Pennsylvania.....	66,928	9,344	51,288	24,989	41,944
Rhode Island.....	3,340	267	1,248	2,359	981
Vermont.....	6,189	51	616	5,624	565
Wisconsin.....	6,361	92	1,551	4,902	1,459
Total	422,515	32,068	280,793	173,790	248,725

CHAPTER IX.

THE PRESS.

IN the language of DeBow : "In every country the press must be regarded a great educational agency. Freedom of speech and of the press are the inalienable birthright of every American citizen, and constitute the ægis of his liberties."

The earliest newspaper in North America was the Boston News-Letter, issued April 24, 1704. There were in 1775 but 37 Newspapers in the American Colonies.*

Of these there were three in South Carolina, two in each of the States Maryland, Virginia, and North Carolina, and one in Georgia; making in all 10 in the present slaveholding States. In New Hampshire there was one, two in Rhode Island, four in Connecticut, the same number in New York, seven in Massachusetts, and nine in Pennsylvania; making 27 in the present non-slaveholding States. At that time the white population in the two sections was very nearly equal.

The following tables show the number of papers and their circulation, in the several States, in 1810; also the number of papers in 1828, and of papers and periodicals in 1840. They also show the character of the newspaper and periodical press, the number of copies printed annually, the number of papers, and the circulation of each class, in 1850.

* It will be perceived by looking on the 54th page of the Census Compendium, that there is a discrepancy between the several numbers and the amount given. I presume the separate numbers to be correct.

TABLE XLV.

Newspapers and Periodicals in the Slave States in 1810, 1828 and 1840.

SLAVE STATES.	1810.		1828,	1840
	Papers.	Circulation.	Papers.	Papers and Periodicals.
Alabama			10	28
Arkansas			2	9
Delaware	2	166,400	4	8
Florida			2	10
Georgia	13	707,200	18	40
Kentucky	17	618,800	23	46
Louisiana	11	763,900	9	37
Maryland	21	1,903,200	37	49
Mississippi	4	83,200	6	31
Missouri			5	35
North Carolina	10	416,000	20	29
South Carolina	10	842,400	16	21
Tennessee	6	171,600	8	56
Texas				
Virginia	23	1,289,600	34	56
Total	117	6,962,300	194	455

TABLE XLVI.

Newspapers and Periodicals in the Free States in 1810, 1828, and 1840.

FREE STATES.	1810.		1828.	1840.
	Papers.	Circulation.	Papers.	Papers and Periodicals.
California				
Connecticut	11	657,800	33	44
Illinois			4	52
Indiana	1	15,600	17	76
Iowa				4
Maine			29	41
Massachusetts	32	2,873,000	78	105
Michigan			2	33
New Hampshire	12	624,000	17	33
New Jersey	8	332,800	22	40
New York	66	4,139,200	161	302
Ohio	14	473,200	66	143
Pennsylvania	71	4,542,200	185	229
Rhode Island	7	332,800	14	18
Vermont	14	682,400	21	33
Wisconsin				6
Total	236	14,673,000	649	1,159

TABLE XLVII.

Newspapers and Periodicals Published in the Slave States, 1850.

SLAVE STATES.	Daily.		Tri-Weekly.		Semi-Weekly.		Weekly.	
	Number.	Number of copies printed annually.	Number.	Number of copies printed annually.	Number.	Number of copies printed annually.	Number.	Number of copies printed annually.
Alabama.....	6	869,201	5	266,500	.....	.....	48	1,509,040
Arkansas.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	3	.....	9	877,000
Delaware.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	62,400	7	358,800
Florida.....	.....	.....	1	31,200	.....	.....	9	288,000
Georgia.....	5	1,086,110	3	146,880	.....	.....	37	2,609,776
Kentucky.....	9	2,243,584	7	1,125,280	.....	.....	38	3,053,024
Louisiana.....	11	9,947,140	6	676,000	.....	.....	37	1,646,684
Maryland.....	6	15,806,500	4	499,700	.....	.....	54	3,168,124
Mississippi.....	.....	.....	4	245,440	.....	.....	46	1,507,064
Missouri.....	5	3,380,400	4	273,000	.....	.....	45	2,406,560
North Carolina..	.....	.....	5	414,310	.....	.....	40	1,530,204
South Carolina..	7	5,070,600	5	549,250	.....	.....	27	1,413,880
Tennessee.....	8	4,407,666	3	266,240	.....	.....	36	2,139,644
Texas.....	.....	.....	5	525,400	.....	.....	23	771,524
Virginia.....	15	4,992,350	12	1,416,550	.....	.....	55	2,518,568
Total.....	72	47,803,551	63	6,435,250	3	62,400	517	25,296,492

TABLE XLVIII.

Newspapers and Periodicals Published in the Free States, 1850.

FREE STATES.	Daily.		Tri-Weekly.		Semi-Weekly.		Weekly.	
	Number.	Number of copies printed annually.	Number.	Number of copies printed annually.	Number.	Number of copies printed annually.	Number.	Number of copies printed annually.
California.....	4	626,000	.....	.....	.....	.....	3	135,200
Connecticut.....	7	1,752,800	4	374,400	.....	.....	30	2,117,232
Illinois.....	8	1,120,540	4	214,500	.....	.....	84	3,575,980
Indiana.....	9	1,163,092	2	195,000	.....	.....	96	2,920,736
Iowa.....	.....	.....	2	577,200	.....	.....	25	923,000
Maine.....	4	964,040	5	302,900	.....	.....	23	2,906,124
Massachusetts...	22	40,498,444	4	351,000	11	2,070,016	126	20,371,104
Michigan.....	3	1,262,000	2	52,000	.....	3,116,360	47	1,685,736
N. Hampshire....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	35	3,538,152
New Jersey.....	6	2,175,350	.....	.....	.....	.....	43	1,900,288
New York.....	51	63,928,685	8	776,100	13	.....	308	39,205,920
Ohio.....	26	14,285,633	10	1,047,330	.....	62,400	201	13,334,204
Pennsylvania.....	24	60,416,788	2	78,000	1	25,200	261	27,359,584
Rhode Island....	5	1,768,450	.....	.....	2	228,800	12	963,300
Vermont.....	2	172,150	.....	.....	1	.....	80	2,142,712
Wisconsin.....	6	1,053,245	4	198,250	.....	.....	35	1,395,992
Total.....	177	181,167,217	47	4,167,280	28	5,502,776	1,374	124,475,020

TABLE XLIX.

Newspapers and Periodicals published in the Slave States in 1850.

SLAVE STATES.	Semi-Monthly.		Monthly.		Quarterly.		Aggregate.*	
	Number.	Number of copies printed annually.	Number.	Number of copies printed annually.	Number.	Number of copies printed annually.	Number.	Number of copies printed annually.
Alabama	1	18,000	...	...	...	...	60	2,662,741
Arkansas	...	...	...	...	...	...	9	377,000
Delaware	...	...	...	...	...	...	10	421,200
Florida	...	...	...	...	...	...	10	319,800
Georgia	6	228,600	...	...	...	...	51	4,070,806
Kentucky	8	160,950	...	...	...	...	62	6,582,838
Louisiana	...	...	1	148,400	...	...	55	12,416,224
Maryland	1	48,000	3	92,400	...	...	68	19,612,724
Mississippi	...	...	...	...	...	...	50	1,752,504
Missouri	...	...	7	135,600	...	...	61	6,195,560
North Carolina	6	76,050	...	...	...	...	51	2,020,564
South Carolina	5	102,600	...	...	2	9,600	46	7,145,980
Tennessee	...	...	4	127,200	...	...	50	6,940,750
Texas	...	...	...	...	...	...	34	1,296,824
Virginia	3	267,600	1	24,000	1	4,000	87	9,223,068
Total	30	901,800	16	525,600	3	13,600	704	81,038,693

* This aggregate is the aggregate of this table together with the last.

TABLE L.

Newspapers and Periodicals published in the Free States in 1850.

FREE STATES.	Semi-Monthly.		Monthly.		Quarterly.		Aggregate.*	
	Number.	Number of copies printed annually.	Number.	Number of copies printed annually.	Number.	Number of copies printed annually.	Number.	Number of copies printed annually.
California	...	...	...	...	...	...	7	761,200
Connecticut	...	...	1	6,000	2	8,800	46	4,287,982
Illinois	3	43,200	7	147,200	1	900	107	5,102,276
Indiana	1	48,000	...	...	...	...	107	4,316,828
Iowa	...	...	2	12,600	...	...	29	1,512,800
Maine	...	...	1	30,000	...	...	49	4,203,064
Massachusetts	3	61,800	29	1,357,200	7	24,000	202	64,820,564
Michigan	3	134,400	3	123,600	...	...	58	3,247,736
New Hampshire	1	15,600	2	13,800	...	...	38	3,067,552
New Jersey	2	23,040	...	...	...	...	61	4,098,578
New York	9	1,704,000	36	6,629,808	3	24,600	423	115,385,473
Ohio	23	1,781,640	...	...	1	24,000	261	30,473,407
Pennsylvania	19	6,972,000	...	...	2	7,600	309	84,898,672
Rhode Island	...	...	...	...	...	...	19	2,756,950
Vermont	...	...	2	24,000	...	...	35	2,567,662
Wisconsin	...	...	1	18,000	...	...	46	2,655,487
Total	64	10,783,680	84	8,382,208	16	89,900	1,790	334,146,281

* This aggregate is the aggregate of this table together with the last.

TABLE LI.

Character of the Newspaper and Periodical Press.—Number of copies printed annually in the Slave States, as given in 1850.

SLAVE STATES.	Literary and Miscel- laneous.	Neutral and Inde- pendent.	Political.	Religious.	Scien- tific.
Alabama	265,200	313,000	1,889,189	158,400	36,972
Arkansas	171,600	.....	205,400	.....	.....
Delaware	46,800	.....	374,400	.....	.....
Florida .....	.....	.....	202,800	117,000	.....
Georgia	1,411,976	747,340	1,491,350	239,200	181,000
Kentucky	660,800	250,400	5,245,888	429,450	6,300
Louisiana	667,300	3,335,100	8,356,224	52,000	15,600
Maryland	14,654,000	8,400	4,196,924	689,400	84,000
Mississippi	233,480	.....	1,519,024	.....	.....
Missouri	608,800	.....	5,496,280	90,480	.....
North Carolina	266,200	113,750	1,467,664	182,950	.....
South Carolina	474,800	2,140,400	4,310,930	1,092,040	24,800
Tennessee	206,200	503,930	5,138,580	195,500	.....
Texas	350,324	148,400	660,400	137,800	.....
Virginia	247,880	1,251,900	6,698,176	1,001,112	24,000
Total	20,245,360	8,812,620	47,243,209	4,364,832	372,672

TABLE LII.

Character of the Newspaper and Periodical Press.—Number of copies printed annually in the Free States, as given in 1850.

FREE STATES.	Literary and Miscel- laneous.	Neutral and Inde- pendent.	Political.	Religious.	Scientific.
California	135,200	626,000	.....	.....	.....
Connecticut	489,900	.....	3,422,432	223,200	7,200
Illinois	721,700	403,770	3,384,162	499,044	93,600
Indiana	647,504	.....	3,569,824	100,000	.....
Iowa	38,000	187,200	1,281,800	7,800	.....
Maine	987,216	.....	2,501,680	438,563	275,600
Massachusetts	11,794,304	13,591,000	32,996,800	4,405,200	2,033,200
Michigan	456,500	26,000	2,556,836	134,400	74,000
New Hampshire	579,480	.....	1,673,672	778,000	36,400
New Jersey	181,640	93,900	3,823,138	.....	.....
New York	18,449,016	37,317,010	45,463,015	12,438,432	1,718,000
Ohio	3,865,880	4,220,805	18,865,282	3,334,240	187,200
Pennsylvania	18,515,028	21,908,548	37,808,960	6,588,136	78,000
Rhode Island	280,800	782,500	1,693,650	.....	.....
Vermont	208,600	.....	2,025,430	333,632	.....
Wisconsin	130,000	.....	2,517,487	.....	18,000
Total	57,478,768	79,156,733	163,583,668	29,280,652	4,521,260

TABLE LIII.

Number of Papers, and the Circulation of each Class, in the Slave States, in 1850.

SLAVE STATES.	Literary and Miscellaneous.		Neutral and Independent.		Political.		Religious.		Scientific.		Aggregate.	
	Number.	Circulation.	Number.	Circulation.	Number.	Circulation.	Number.	Circulation.	Number.	Circulation.	Number.	Circulation.
Alabama	11	5,100	1	1,000	45	24,336	2	3,450	1	711	60	34,597
Arkansas	3	3,300	...	...	6	3,950	...	...	...	...	9	7,250
Delaware	2	900	...	...	8	6,600	...	...	...	...	10	7,500
Florida	...	...	...	...	7	3,500	3	2,250	...	...	10	5,750
Georgia	18	29,638	6	3,046	20	20,900	3	4,600	4	9,300	51	67,484
Kentucky	12	14,900	2	800	42	55,936	5	12,525	1	525	62	84,686
Louisiana	13	22,025	6	12,000	34	45,522	1	1,000	1	300	55	80,847
Maryland	20	71,000	1	700	39	31,637	6	13,950	2	7,000	68	124,287
Mississippi	10	4,490	...	...	40	26,380	...	...	...	...	50	30,870
Missouri	17	19,400	...	...	42	48,340	2	2,740	...	...	61	70,480
North Carolina	8	5,675	2	875	35	24,564	6	5,725	...	...	51	36,839
South Carolina	10	12,700	5	8,300	24	28,115	5	4,600	2	2,000	46	55,715
Tennessee	5	10,350	2	1,610	36	33,147	7	22,770	...	...	50	67,877
Texas	17	6,737	1	1,400	14	8,350	2	2,650	...	...	34	19,137
Virginia	10	5,690	5	4,200	62	51,988	9	25,256	1	2,000	87	89,134
Total	156	211,905	31	33,931	454	413,265	51	101,516	12	21,836	704	782,453

TABLE LIV.

Number of Papers, and the Circulation of each Class, in the Free States, in 1850.

FREE STATES.	Literary and Miscellaneous.		Neutral and Independent.		Political.		Religious.		Scientific.		Aggregate.	
	Number.	Circulation.	Number.	Circulation.	Number.	Circulation.	Number.	Circulation.	Number.	Circulation.	Number.	Circulation.
California	3	2,600	4	2,000	28	34,916	4	5,400	1	1,200	7	4,600
Connecticut	12	11,200	1	1,290	73	51,111	8	12,087	3	6,400	45	52,716
Illinois	22	17,725	1	1,290	84	47,900	2	3,000	107	68,623	107	88,623
Indiana	21	12,452	1	1,200	25	20,150	1	650	107	63,352	107	83,352
Iowa	2	1,000	1	1,200	29	29,595	4	8,434	1	5,300	29	23,000
Maine	15	20,458	1	1,200	29	29,595	4	8,434	1	5,300	49	63,887
Massachusetts	80	283,027	9	50,700	82	171,387	24	117,650	14	94,205	209	716,969
Michigan	13	13,625	1	200	39	28,793	3	5,600	2	4,500	58	52,718
New Hampshire	10	11,790	1	1,200	22	32,186	5	15,500	1	700	38	60,176
New Jersey	6	4,010	1	300	44	40,144	1	15,500	1	700	51	44,454
New York	101	528,908	15	127,370	263	399,755	37	507,246	12	59,500	428	1,622,779
Ohio	37	111,790	6	13,485	192	189,304	21	90,130	5	10,400	261	415,109
Pennsylvania	71	445,364	12	70,396	198	267,940	28	198,018	1	1,500	310	983,218
Rhode Island	6	5,400	1	2,500	12	18,075	1	18,075	1	1,500	19	25,375
Vermont	5	5,550	1	1,200	27	33,990	3	6,416	1	1,500	35	45,956
Wisconsin	3	2,500	1	1,200	42	29,236	1	1,500	1	1,500	46	33,236
Total	407	1,477,399	51	269,441	1,160	1,394,582	140	970,141	41	185,205	1,799	4,296,768

It will be seen on examination of these Tables, that in 1810 the number of papers in the Slave States was 117, and in the free States, 236; almost exactly two to one. The ratio of circulation was a little larger.

In 1828, the number of papers at the North was to that at the South as 3 to 1; and in 1840 as 2 1-2 to 1. The circulation for those years is not given.

In 1850, the number of papers at the South was 704; at the North 1,799; while the circulation at the South was 782,453, and at the North, 4,296,768; or over five at the North to one at the South.

The circulation in Michigan, is 52,000; in Arkansas, 7,000; in Kentucky, 84,000; in Ohio, 415,000; in South Carolina, 55,000; in New Hampshire, 60,000; in Mississippi, 30,000; and in New Jersey, 44,000; in Maryland, 124,000, (which is far the largest circulation of any Southern State); and in Massachusetts, 716,969. The circulation in Massachusetts, is but little less than that in all the slave States; that in Pennsylvania is greater by one-fourth than of that entire section; while the circulation of New York is considerably more than double that of the whole dominion of slavery. The circulation of the single paper, the New York Weekly Tribune, is at the present time greater than was, in 1850, the circulation of all the newspapers in the States Virginia, North Carolina, and Mississippi; indeed, we might add a couple more slave States, and it would still be greater.

On examining the character of the Newspapers and Periodicals in the two sections, we see that a large proportion (more than one-half,) of the Southern Papers, are political; and a much larger proportion than of the Northern, the proportion in the North being less than one-third. In this class they have a circulation nearly equal to one-third of the Northern, while of the literary and miscellaneous, neutral and independent, it is one-seventh; in the scientific, one-eighth; and in the religious, one-ninth.



These ratios are in some instances greater, if we compare the number of copies printed annually.

The number of copies, of neutral and independent papers, printed in a year, in the slave States, is 8,000,000 ; and in the free States, 79,000,000. Of the religious, in the slave States, 4,000,000 ; and in the free States, 29,000,000. Of the scientific, the number is, at the South, 372,000 ; and at the North, 4,000,000 ; while of the political, the number at the South, is 47,000,000 ; and at the North, 163,000,000.

The number of copies of scientific papers printed in the fifteen Southern States, is 372,000. The number printed in Massachusetts alone, is 2,000,000 ; more than five times as many as in all the slave States. The number of copies of religious papers printed in the fifteen slave States, is 4,000,000 ; in the State of New York, 12,000,000. Of neutral and independent papers there are, in the slave States, 8,000,000 ; and in Pennsylvania, 21,000,000.

The political press of either Massachusetts or Pennsylvania, issues annually more copies than half the political presses of the slave States ; while that of New York issues but a slight fraction less than the whole.

Finally. The daily press of the South issues 47,000,000 annually ; that of Massachusetts and Pennsylvania the same ; and of the free States, 181,000,000. The weekly press of the South issues 25,000,000 copies ; that of Pennsylvania 27,000,000 ; of New York, 39,000,000 ; and of the free States, 124,000,000. The New York Daily Herald had a circulation nearly, if not quite, half as great as all the daily papers of the slave States, in 1850.

The aggregate number of copies printed annually in Arkansas, is 377,000 ; in Wisconsin, 2,665,000. In Kentucky, 6,000,000 ; in Ohio, 80,000,000. In Maryland, Virginia, North Carolina, South Carolina, Georgia, Alabama, Missis-

issippi, Florida, Louisiana, and Texas, together less than Massachusetts.

In the fifteen slave states, 81,000,000; in Pennsylvania, 84,000,000; in New York, 115,000,000; and in the sixteen free states, 334,000,000.

CHAPTER X.

POST OFFICE DEPARTMENT.

THE following tables, Nos. LV., LVI., and LVII., will show the amounts actually credited for the transportation of the mails in the several States, and the amount of postages collected in the same, for the fiscal years ending June 30, 1850, and June 30, 1855.

Few tables can be more suggestive, or more amply repay a careful investigation, than these.

At the present day, the energy and business character of a people, their roads, railroads, steamboats, and other means of transportation, are all given, in a word, in their Post-Office reports.

TABLE LV.

Showing the Amounts actually credited for the Transportation of Mails, and the Amounts of Postage collected in the Slave and Free States in 1850.

SLAVE STATES.	Total Postage Collected.	Transportation.	FREE STATES	Total Postage Collected.	Transportation.
Alabama	\$75,937 75	\$143,798 70	California	\$227,152 82	\$111,515 87
Arkansas	17,215 53	61,244 90	Connecticut...	119,971 81	62,176 13
Delaware	12,521 38	6,489 87	Illinois	115,184 53	156,685 71
Florida	13,793 24	31,701 55	Indiana	83,638 03	76,225 82
Georgia	101,749 42	146,772 94	Iowa	26,568 86	24,850 05
Kentucky	86,472 49	87,121 70	Maine	89,761 92	46,690 25
Louisiana	116,936 06	68,464 61	Massachusetts.	358,120 72	132,164 84
Maryland	121,864 61	143,150 97	Michigan	62,387 69	39,634 58
Mississippi	55,536 01	84,256 58	N. Hampshire.	59,902 20	27,662 00
Missouri	83,787 95	101,313 23	New Jersey....	66,156 20	42,813 37
N. Carolina....	46,647 07	154,977 40	New York	933,977 13	324,970 14
S. Carolina....	76,108 62	108,488 80	Ohio	286,311 24	138,836 32
Tennessee	64,185 86	74,142 59	Pennsylvania ..	396,699 91	146,105 64
Texas	28,474 12	114,744 83	Rhode Island..	39,328 34	12,088 20
Virginia	141,579 13	169,687 83	Vermont	58,965 44	50,643 98
.....	.....	.....	Wisconsin	60,725 35	34,759 77
Total	\$1,042,809 24	\$1,496,356 50	Total	\$2,975,852 19	\$1,427,822 63

TABLE LVI.

*Showing the Amounts actually credited for the Transportation of the Mails,
and the Amount of Postage collected in the Slave States in 1855.*

SLAVE STATES.	Letter Postage.	Newspaper Postage.	Stamps Sold.	Total Post- age Collected.	Transporta- tion.
Alabama.....	\$46,416	\$18,688	\$44,514	\$104,514	\$226,816
Arkansas.....	16,894	4,828	8,941	80,664	117,669
Delaware.....	9,967	2,877	7,298	19,644	9,243
Florida.....	8,167	2,843	8,764	19,276	77,563
Georgia.....	69,117	16,066	78,880	149,068	216,008
Kentucky.....	69,807	16,066	56,694	180,067	144,161
Louisiana.....	69,140	13,888	60,778	183,763	183,810
Maryland.....	82,029	31,712	77,743	191,486	192,743
Mississippi.....	36,062	11,464	31,182	78,739	170,786
Missouri.....	71,872	14,637	63,742	189,662	186,096
North Carolina.....	26,881	11,692	34,286	72,769	148,249
South Carolina.....	36,166	8,076	47,868	91,600	192,216
Tennessee.....	42,070	13,288	48,377	108,686	116,091
Texas.....	37,373	8,532	24,530	70,436	209,936
Virginia.....	92,662	28,499	96,799	217,961	246,592
Total.....	\$693,498	\$195,844	\$66,845	\$1,563,198	\$2,896,963

TABLE LVII.

*Showing the Amounts actually credited for the Transportation of the Mails,
and the Amount of Postage collected in the Free States in 1855.*

FREE STATES.	Letter Postage.	Newspaper Postage.	Stamps Sold.	Total Post- age Collected.	Transporta- tion.
California.....	\$141,833	\$11,319	\$81,437	\$234,591	\$136,386
Connecticut.....	76,691	24,264	79,284	179,230	81,462
Illinois.....	142,177	32,457	105,252	279,887	280,038
Indiana.....	96,248	24,578	60,578	180,406	190,480
Iowa.....	44,540	9,680	28,198	82,420	84,428
Maine.....	76,779	16,413	60,166	151,368	82,218
Massachusetts.....	229,894	33,226	269,062	532,184	168,091
Michigan.....	77,223	15,201	49,763	142,188	148,204
New Hampshire.....	46,226	10,666	38,387	95,609	46,631
New Jersey.....	66,645	11,566	31,496	109,697	80,064
New York.....	734,453	106,206	542,498	1,383,157	481,410
Ohio.....	237,467	47,227	167,968	452,643	421,670
Pennsylvania.....	301,646	64,073	217,293	583,012	261,833
Rhode Island.....	23,812	4,620	30,291	58,624	13,891
Vermont.....	44,466	12,036	36,314	92,816	64,437
Wisconsin.....	66,406	13,969	33,638	112,903	92,842
Total.....	\$2,412,494	\$436,700	\$1,719,513	\$4,670,726	\$2,608,296

A few of the facts which stand forth prominent in these Tables, are the following :

In 1850, only two slave States, Delaware and Louisiana, paid for the transportation of their mails by the amount of postages collected.

Of the free states, Illinois alone did not.

In the slave States, the postages for that year less than paid for the transportation, by nearly half a million of dollars. In the free States, the postages more than paid for the transportation, by over a million and a half of dollars.

In 1855, this difference is very greatly increased.

The postages of the slave States less than paid the cost of transportation by over \$800,000, while the free State postages more than paid the transportation, by over \$2,000,000.

In the slave territory, the only State which paid for transportation of its mails, by its postages, was Delaware. In the free States, the only States which did not, were Illinois, Indiana, Iowa, and Michigan.

Neither North Carolina, South Carolina, Mississippi, Alabama, or Texas, paid half the expense of transporting their mails, by postages received ; while Florida paid less than a fourth, and Arkansas less than a fifth.

Massachusetts paid for her own transportation, and had a surplus remaining of more than four times the amount of postage collected in South Carolina.

New Hampshire, Connecticut, and Pennsylvania, each paid for their transportation, by their postages, more than twice over, and Rhode Island more than four fold.

The postages of New York are not an eighth less than those of all the slave States, while the expense of transportation is but little more than one-fifth the expense in those States.

The fifteen slave States did not pay, by postages, two-thirds the expense of transporting their mails.

The free States paid for theirs, and had a surplus of over

\$2,000,000; half a million more than all the postages collected in the slave States.

In other words, the free States, in this matter, support themselves, pay the deficit in the slave States and have over \$1,200,000 besides.

CHAPTER XI.

VALUE OF CHURCHES, AND AMOUNT OF CONTRIBUTIONS FOR CERTAIN BENEVOLENT OBJECTS.

THE following tables, Nos. LVIII. and LIX. show the amount contributed in the several States, for the Missionary, Tract, and Bible cause, by all the principal Christian denominations, except the Methodist. This denomination is not included in the tables, from the fact that all receipts are returned by conferences, which are frequently made up of several parts of States, thus precluding the possibility of separating so

TABLE LVIII.

Showing the Amount contributed in the Slave States for purposes of Christian Benevolence in 1855, together with the Value of Churches in 1850.

SLAVE STATES.	Amount contributed for the Bible cause.	Amount contributed for Missionary purposes.	Amount contributed for the Tract cause.	Value of Churches, 1850.
Alabama	\$3,351	\$5,963	\$477	\$1,244,741
Arkansas	2,950	455	110	149,686
Delaware	1,037	1,003	163	340,345
Florida	1,957	340	5	192,600
Georgia	4,532	9,846	1,468	1,327,112
Kentucky	5,956	6,953	1,366	2,295,353
Louisiana	1,810	334	1,099	1,940,495
Maryland	8,909	20,677	5,365	3,974,116
Mississippi	1,067	4,957	267	832,622
Missouri	4,711	2,712	936	1,730,135
North Carolina	6,197	6,010	1,419	907,785
South Carolina	3,984	15,248	3,222	2,181,476
Tennessee	8,383	4,971	1,807	1,246,951
Texas	3,985	349	127	408,944
Virginia	9,296	22,106	6,894	2,902,220
Total	\$68,125	\$101,934	\$24,725	\$21,674,581

TABLE LIX.

Showing the Amount contributed in the Free States for purposes of Christian Benevolence in 1855, together with the Value of Churches in 1850.

FREE STATES.	Amount contributed for the Bible cause.	Amount contributed for Missionary purposes.	Amount contributed for the Tract cause.	Value of Churches. 1850.
California.....	\$1,900	\$192	\$5	\$288,400
Connecticut.....	24,528	48,044	15,872	3,599,330
Illinois.....	28,403	10,040	3,786	1,532,305
Indiana.....	6,755	4,705	1,491	1,568,906
Iowa.....	4,216	1,750	2,005	235,412
Maine*.....	5,449	13,929	.....	1,794,209
Massachusetts*.....	43,444	128,505	.....	10,504,888
Michigan.....	5,554	4,935	1,114	793,180
New Hampshire*.....	6,271	11,963	.....	1,433,266
New Jersey.....	15,475	19,946	3,546	3,712,863
New York.....	123,386	172,115	61,233	21,539,561
Ohio.....	25,758	19,890	9,576	5,860,059
Pennsylvania.....	25,360	43,412	12,121	11,853,391
Rhode Island.....	2,669	9,440	2,121	1,293,600
Vermont*.....	5,709	11,094	.....	1,251,655
Wisconsin.....	4,790	2,216	474	512,552
Total.....	\$319,667	\$502,174	\$131,972	\$67,773,477

*\$18,628 as given in the Report for the four together.

as to give the amount from each State. Indeed, there is some difficulty in dividing the amount justly between the slave and free States; but this is not as great as in dividing it between all the several States, since the sum collected in all the conferences, made up partly of slave and partly of free Territory, is but \$35,000, which could make but little difference in the result, however it might be divided. The amount collected for the Tract cause and the support of missions, was, for the past year, in the Northern conferences, \$225,000, of which \$35,000 was from conferences embracing both slave and free territory. According to the Annals of Southern Methodism, for the year 1855, the amount raised in the Methodist Church South, in the year 1854, was \$168,931, "and for the year just closing, the amount will fall somewhat below that," says the author.

Taking these facts and dividing the \$35,000 according to the best of our information, the amount contributed for these purposes, in the Methodist Church, is a few thousand dollars greater in the free than in the slave States. This of course is exclusive of the operations of the "Book Concern," &c., &c.

The amount contributed by all other denominations is given by States in the tables, which are compiled from the last annual report of the several societies.

The amount contributed in the slave States, for the Bible cause, was, during the past year, \$68,125; in the free States, \$319,667; a ratio of over 4 1-2 to 1. The amount contributed for the support of missions was, in the slave States, \$101,934, and in the free States, \$502,174; almost exactly five dollars to one. The amount contributed in the slave States for the publication and distribution of Tracts, was \$24,725; and in the free States, \$131,972; a ratio still greater, and over five dollars at the North to one at the South. The amount contributed in the State of Massachusetts, for the support of missions, is greater than in all the slave States, while the amount contributed in the State of New York, both for the missionary and Bible cause, was nearly twice as great as in all the territory of slavery.

It will be seen that the value of Churches in the slave States is \$21,674,581, and in the free States, \$67,773,477; a ratio of more than 3 to 1 — the Churches of New York being equal in value to those of the fifteen slave States.

The amount contributed in the several States for the various benevolent objects which from time to time present themselves, it is impossible to ascertain. But the report of the Portsmouth Relief Association, just published, shows the amount received from the different States "For the relief of Portsmouth, Va., during the prevalence of the yellow fever in that town in 1855." It is certainly gratifying to see that the call for help was so promptly answered from the most distant States. The amount of money contributed by the slave States, exclusive of

Virginia, in which State the sickness prevailed, was \$12,182. In the free States it was \$42,547, or 3 and 1-2 times as much in the free as in the slave States. Including the State of Virginia, the amount given by the slave States was \$33,398, or \$9,141 more given by the sixteen free States than by the fifteen slave States. This is exclusive of provisions and other valuable supplies, amounting to thousands of dollars, sent from all parts of the Union.

CHAPTER XII.

THE LAWS OF KANSAS.

THAT our readers may understand exactly what the laws are which the free State men in Kansas are now threatened with death for disobeying, we present such portions of the statute book of that Territory as relate especially to the institution of slavery. The public must judge whether or not the laws deserve the epithets, "outrageous," "unconstitutional," "disgraceful," lately bestowed on them by Mr. Cass, Mr. Geyer, and Mr. Weller. The title of the volume from which we quote, is: "The Statutes of the Territory of Kansas, passed at the first Session of the Legislative Assembly, one thousand eight hundred and fifty-five. To which are affixed, the Declaration of Independence, and the Constitution of the United States, and the Act of Congress organizing said Territory, and other Acts of Congress having immediate relation thereto. Printed in pursuance of the statute in such cases made and provided. Shawnee M. L. School: John T. Brady, Public Printer. 1855."* Pp. 1058.

ELECTIONS. — (Chapter 66, section 11, page 332.)

Every free white male citizen of the United States, and every free male Indian, who is made a citizen, by treaty or oth-

* This volume is extremely rare. There is thought to be but one copy in New England — the one we have used — which belongs to Dr. T. H. Webb, of the Emigrant Aid Company. At the treaty, recently made by Gov. Shannon with the free State men at Lawrence, it was one of the stipulations that two copies of this work should be furnished the people of Lawrence. We have not learned whether the governor keeps his promises as well as usual.

erwise, and over the age of twenty-one years, who shall be an inhabitant of this Territory, and of the county or district in which he offers to vote, and shall have paid a Territorial tax, shall be a qualified elector for all elective officers; and all Indians who are inhabitants of this Territory, and who may have adopted the customs of the white man, and who are liable to pay taxes, shall be deemed citizens; *Provided*, that no soldier, seaman, or marine, in the regular army or navy of the United States, shall be entitled to vote by being on service therein; *And provided further*, that no person who shall have been convicted of any violation of any of the provisions of an act of Congress, entitled, "An act respecting fugitives from justice, and persons escaping from the service of their masters," approved February 12th, 1793; or of an act to amend and supplementary to said act, approved 18th September, 1850; whether such conviction were by criminal proceeding, or by civil action for the recovery of any penalty prescribed by either of said acts, in any court of the United States, or any State or Territory, of any offence deemed infamous, shall be entitled to vote at any election, or to hold any office in this Territory; *And provided further*, that if any person offering to vote shall be challenged and required to take an oath or affirmation, to be administered by one of the judges of the election, that he will sustain the provisions of the above recited acts of Congress, and of the act entitled, "An act to organize the Territories of Nebraska and Kansas," approved May 30, 1854, and shall refuse to take such oath or affirmation, the vote of such person shall be rejected.

SEC. 12. Every person possessing the qualification of a voter, as herein above prescribed, and who shall have resided in this Territory thirty days prior to the election at which he may offer himself as a candidate, shall be eligible as a delegate to the house of representatives of the United States, to either branch of the legislative assembly, and to all other offices in this territory, not otherwise especially provided for; *Provided*

however, that each member of the legislative assembly, and every officer elected or appointed to office under the laws of this territory, shall, in addition to the oath or affirmation specially provided to be taken by such officer, take an oath or affirmation to support the constitution of the United States, the provisions of an act, entitled, "An act respecting fugitives from justice and persons escaping from the service of their masters," approved February 12, 1793; and of an act to amend and supplementary to said last mentioned act, approved September 18th, 1850; and of an act, entitled, "An act to organize the Territories of Nebraska and Kansas," approved May 30, 1854.

OFFICERS. — (Chapter 117, section 1, page 516.)

All officers elected or appointed under any existing or subsequently enacted laws of this Territory, shall take and subscribe the following oath of office: "I ——— do solemnly swear, upon the holy Evangelists of Almighty God, that I will *support* the Constitution of the United States, and that I will *support and sustain* the provisions of an act, entitled, 'An act to organize the Territories of Nebraska and Kansas,' and the provisions of the law of the United States, commonly known as the '*Fugitive Slave Law*,' and faithfully and impartially, and to the best of my ability, demean myself in the discharge of my duties in the office of ———; so help me God."

JURORS. — (Chapter 92, section 13, page 444.)

No person who is conscientiously opposed to the holding of slaves, or who does not admit the right to hold slaves in this Territory, shall be a juror in any cause in which the right to hold any person in slavery is involved, nor in any cause in which any injury done to or committed by any slave is in issue, nor in any criminal proceeding for the violation of any law enacted for the protection of slave property and for the punishment of crimes committed against the right to such property.

ATTORNEYS AT LAW. — (Chapter 11, section 3, page 132.)

Every person obtaining a license (to practice law) shall take an oath, or affirmation, to support the Constitution of the United States, and to support and sustain the provisions of an act, entitled, "An act to organize the Territories of Nebraska and Kansas," and the provisions of an act, commonly known as the "Fugitive Slave Law," and faithfully to demean himself in his practice, to the best of his knowledge and ability. A certificate of such oath shall be endorsed on the license.

SLAVES. — (Chapter 151 ; page 715.)*An Act to punish offences against slave property.*

SECTION 1. Be it enacted, by the Governor and Legislative Assembly of the Territory of Kansas, That every person, bond or free, who shall be convicted of actually raising a rebellion, or insurrection of slaves, free negroes or mulattoes, in this Territory, shall suffer death.

SEC. 2. Every free person, who shall aid and assist in any rebellion or insurrection of slaves, free negroes, or mulattoes, or shall furnish arms, or do any overt act in furtherance of such rebellion or insurrection, shall suffer death.

SEC. 3. If any free person shall, by speaking, writing, or printing, advise, persuade, or induce any slaves to rebel, conspire against, or murder any citizen of this Territory, or shall bring into, print, write, publish, or circulate, or cause to be brought into, printed, written, published, or circulated, or shall knowingly aid or assist in the bringing into, printing, writing, publishing, or circulating in this Territory, any book, paper, magazine, pamphlet or circular, for the purpose of exciting insurrection on the part of the slaves, free negroes, or mulattoes, against the Territory, or any part of them, such person shall be guilty of felony and suffer death.

SEC. 4. If any person shall entice, decoy, or carry away out of this Territory, any slaves belonging to another, with the

intent to deprive the owner thereof of the services of such slaves, or with intent to effect or procure the freedom of such slave, he shall be adjudged guilty of grand larceny, and, on conviction thereof, shall suffer death, or be imprisoned at hard labor for not less than ten years.

SEC. 5. If any person aids or assists in enticing, decoying, or persuading, or carrying away, or sending out of this Territory, any slave belonging to another, with intent to procure or effect the freedom of such slave, or with intent to deprive the owner thereof of the services of such slave, he shall be adjudged guilty of grand larceny, and, on conviction thereof, shall suffer death, or be imprisoned at hard labor for not less than ten years.

SEC. 6. If any person shall entice, decoy, or carry away out of any State or other Territory of the United States, any slave belonging to another, with intent to procure or effect the freedom of such slave, or to deprive the owner thereof of the services of such slave, and shall bring such slave into this Territory, he shall be adjudged guilty of grand larceny, in the same manner as if such slave had been enticed, decoyed, or carried away out of the Territory, and in such case the larceny may be charged to have been committed in any county of this Territory, into or through which such slave shall have been brought by such person, and, on conviction thereof, the person offending shall suffer death, or be imprisoned at hard labor for not less than ten years.

SEC. 7. If any person shall entice, persuade, or induce any slave to escape from the service of his master or owner in this Territory, or shall aid or assist any slave escaping from the service of his master or owner, or shall assist, harbor, or conceal any slave who may have escaped from the service of his master or owner, he shall be deemed guilty of felony, and punished by imprisonment at hard labor for not less than five years.

SEC. 8. If any person in this Territory shall aid or assist, harbor, or conceal any slave who has escaped from the service

of his master or owner in another State or Territory, such person shall be punished in like manner as if such slave had escaped from the service of his master or owner in this Territory.

SEC. 9. If any person shall resist any officer while attempting to arrest any slave that may have escaped from the service of his master or owner, or shall rescue such slaves when in custody of any officer or other person, or shall entice, persuade, aid, or assist such slave to escape from the custody of any officer, or other person who may have such slave in custody, whether such slave has escaped from the service of his master or owner in this Territory or in any other State or Territory, the person so offending shall be guilty of felony, and punished by imprisonment at hard labor for a term not less than two years.

SEC. 10. If any Marshal, Sheriff, or Constable, or the Deputy of any such officer, shall, when required by any person, refuse to aid or assist in the arrest and capture of any slave that may have escaped from the service of his master or owner, whether such slave shall have escaped from his master or owner in this Territory or any other State or Territory, such officer shall be fined in a sum of not less than one hundred nor more than five hundred dollars.

SEC. 11. If any person print, write, introduce into, publish, or circulate, or cause to be brought into, printed, written, published, or circulated, or shall knowingly aid or assist in bringing into, printing, publishing, or circulating within this Territory, any book, paper, pamphlet, magazine, handbill, or circular, containing any statements, arguments, opinions, sentiment, doctrine, advice, or inuendo, calculated to produce a disorderly, dangerous or rebellious disaffection among the slaves in this Territory, or to induce such slaves to escape from the service of their masters, or resist their authority, he shall be guilty of felony, and be punished by imprisonment at hard labor for a term not less than five years.



SEC. 12. If any free person, by speaking or writing, assert or maintain that persons have not the right to hold slaves in this Territory, or shall introduce into this Territory, print, publish, write, circulate, or cause to be written, printed, published, or circulated in this Territory, any book, paper, magazine, pamphlet, or circular containing any denial of the right of such persons to hold slaves in this Territory, such person shall be deemed guilty of felony, and punished by imprisonment at hard labor for a term not less than two years.

SEC. 13. No person who is conscientiously opposed to holding slaves, or who does not admit the right to hold slaves in this Territory, shall sit as a juror on the trial of any prosecution for the violation of any of the sections of this act.

This act to take effect and be in force from and after the 15th day of September, A. D. 1855.

Chapter 152, page 718.

An Act giving meaning to the word "State."

SEC. 1. Wherever the word "State" occurs in any act of the present Legislative Assembly, or any law of the Territory, in such construction as to indicate the locality of the operation of such act or laws, the same shall in every instance be taken and understood to mean "Territory," and shall apply to the Territory of Kansas.

CHAPTER XIII.

EXTRACT FROM AN ARTICLE BY CHARLES C. HAZEWELL, IN
THE BOSTON DAILY CHRONICLE, OF AUGUST 12, 1856.

THE first *Southern* authority that we shall quote, is that of an actor in the business spoken of — William Moultrie. There is no purer name connected with the history of our Revolution than that of Moultrie. He commanded the American forces that successfully defended the fort on Sullivan's Island, June 28th, 1776, against a strong British squadron — perhaps, all things considered, the most gallant action of the war, and the last that was fought, so far as we know, while our country was still in a formal condition of colonial dependence. The fort was subsequently named after him. He served with brilliancy and usefulness subsequently to the date mentioned, and rose to the rank of major-general in the national service. He was elevated to the place of Governor of South Carolina, in days when men thought worthy of that post would sooner have died than have approved of an attempt to commit murder. In 1802, Governor Moultrie published, in two volumes, *Memoirs of the American Revolution, so far as it related to the States of North and South Carolina, and Georgia, etc.* This is an interesting work, boldly written and faithfully compiled, and bearing on every page evidences of the author's ability, integrity, and enlightened patriotism. He was, in short, worthy to stand side by side with Marion, Sumpter, Laurens, and the rest of those Carolina soldiers who served their country so well, and whose eminent worth has ever been admitted by all Northern men. When the British Gen. Prevost (Moultrie calls him *Provost*) appeared before Charleston, May 11th, 1779, Gen. Moultrie

was appointed to command the troops in that town, by Governor Rutledge and the council, who were then and there present. He represents the governor to have been much frightened, overrating the enemy's force, and underrating that of the Americans. Governor Rutledge, says Gen. Moultrie, "represented to me the horrors of a storm; he told me that the State's engineer (Col. Senf) had represented to him the lines to be in a very weak state: after some conversation, he proposed to me the sending out a flag, to know what terms we could obtain; I told him, I thought we could stand against the enemy; that I did not think they could force the lines; and that I did not choose to send a flag in my name, but if he chose it, and would call the council together, I would send any message: they requested me to send the following, which was delivered by Mr. Kinloch:

"General Moultrie perceiving from the motions of your army, that your intention is to besiege the town, would be glad to know on what terms you would be disposed to grant a capitulation, should he be inclined to capitulate." (Moultrie's Memoirs, vol. I., p. 427.)

To this message, Gen. Prevost made a reply, full of those promises which the British commanders were so ready to give, and equally ready to break after their enemies had been deluded into placing faith in them. This letter was given to the governor, who called a meeting of the council, at which Moultrie, Pulaski, and Laurens were present. The question of giving up the town was argued, the military men all advising the civilians not to think of surrendering, and showing that the enemy could be beaten off; but Gov. Rutledge would have it that the American force was much exaggerated, and was ready to believe in any statement that exaggerated the British strength. Finally, Gen. Moultrie was authorized to send an answer to Gen. Prevost, refusing to surrender on the latter's terms, but offering, if he would appoint an officer to confer on terms, to

send one to meet him, at such time and place as Gen. Prevost might fix on. Gen. Moultrie says:

"When the question was carried for giving up the town upon a neutrality, I will not say who was for the question but this I well remember, that Mr. John Edwards, one of the privy council, a worthy citizen, and a very respectable merchant of Charleston, was so affected as to weep, and said, 'What, are we to give up the town at last?'

"The governor and council adjourned to Colonel Beekman's tent on the lines, at the gate. I sent for Colonel John Laurens from his house, to request the favor he would carry a message from the governor and council to General Prevost; but when he knew the purpose, he begged to be excused from carrying such a message that it was much against his inclination; that he would do anything to serve his country; but he could not think of carrying such a message as that! I then sent for Colonel M'Intosh, and requested he would go with Colonel Roger Smith, who was called on by the governor, with the message; they both begged I would excuse them; hoped, and requested I would get some other person. I, however, pressed them into a compliance; which message was as follows:

"*'I propose a neutrality during the war between Great Britain and America, and the question, WHETHER THE STATE SHALL BELONG TO GREAT BRITAIN, OR REMAIN ONE OF THE UNITED STATES? be determined by the treaty of peace between those two powers.'*" (Memoirs, Vol. I., pp. 432-33.

John Marshall, so long Chief Justice of the United States Supreme Court, a Virginian by birth, and a man of the highest reputation, has given a brief account of what happened at Charleston after Prevost's arrival before it. "The town was summoned to surrender," he says, "and the day was spent in sending and receiving flags. *The neutrality of South Carolina, during the war, leaving the question whether that State should finally belong to Great Britain or the United States* to be settled in the treaty of peace, was proposed by the garrison and rejected by Prevost." (Marshall's Life of Washington, vol. I. pp. 298-9, Phil. ed., 1832.)

Among the historians of the American Revolution is Dr. Ramsay, of South Carolina, whose history was published in

1789. In his account of what happened at Charleston, after Gen Prevost's arrival before that place, occurs the following passage : " Commissioners from the garrison were instructed to *propose a neutrality during the war between Great Britain and America*, and that the question whether the State shall belong to Great Britain, or remain one of the United States, be decided by the treaty of peace between these powers." The British commanders refused this advantageous offer, alleging that they had not come in a legislative capacity, and insisted that, as the inhabitants and others were in arms, they should surrender prisoners of war. (Ramsay, p. 425.)

The last authority we shall quote is Professor Bowen.* After mentioning the proposal made to the British commander, he comments on it as follows :

" This proposal did not come merely from the commander of a military garrison, in which case, of course, it would have been only nugatory ; the governor of the State, clothed with discretionary powers, was in the place, and probably most of his council along with him. Whether such a proposition would have been justifiable under any circumstances is a question that needs not be discussed ; at any rate, it would not have evinced much honorable or patriotic feeling. But to make such an offer in the present case was conduct little short of treason. Till within a fortnight, not an enemy's foot had pressed their ground ; and even now, the British held no strong position, had captured none of their forts, and occupied only the little space actually covered by the army in front of the town. The garrison equalled this army in strength, and might safely bid it defiance. No succors were at hand for the British, while the certain arrival of Lincoln within a week would place them between two fires, and make their position eminently hazardous. Yet, with these prospects before them, the authorities of the place made a proposition, which was equivalent to an offer from the State to return to its allegiance to the British crown. The transaction deserves particular notice here, because the surrender of Charleston, in the following year, a surrender brought about by the prevalence of the same unpatriotic feelings, was made the ground of some very unjust reflections on the conduct of Lincoln, their military commander." (Life of Benjamin Lincoln, in Spark's American Biography, Sec. Ser., vol. XIII., pp. 285-6 "

* Of Harvard University.

"The Committee appointed to take into consideration the circumstances of the Southern States, and the ways and means for their safety and defence, report, that the State of South Carolina (as represented by the delegates of said State, and by Mr. Huger, who has come here at the request of the governor of said State, to explain the circumstances thereof,) is UNABLE to make any effectual efforts *with militia*, by reason of the great proportion of citizens necessary to remain at home to prevent insurrection among the negroes, and to prevent the desertion of them to the enemy. That the state of the country and the great number of these people among them, expose the inhabitants to great danger from the endeavor of the enemy to excite them to revolt or desert." (From the Secret Journal of the Continental Congress, vol. I, page 105, under date of March 29, 1779.)

The first of these is the fact that the United States is a young nation, and its history is therefore a history of growth and development. The second is the fact that the United States is a nation of immigrants, and its history is therefore a history of the struggle for a common identity. The third is the fact that the United States is a nation of free men, and its history is therefore a history of the struggle for freedom and justice. The fourth is the fact that the United States is a nation of men, and its history is therefore a history of the struggle for power and influence. The fifth is the fact that the United States is a nation of men, and its history is therefore a history of the struggle for power and influence.







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